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Reward for sacrifice:  
The Pahlavi version of Yasna 9.1-15

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## Abstract

The present work provides a detailed study of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15. The title ‘reward for sacrifice’ alludes to the feature that the Indo-Iranian ritual forms part of a system of *do-ut-des*. It is inspired by the aspect of the story related in Y 9.1–15, that the four personages who pressed Hōm before Zaraθuštra, were rewarded with the birth of a son for their efforts. The work provides a text-critical edition of the Pahlavi version based on six manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna copies (Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b) and of three manuscripts of the Indian Pahlavi Yasna (J2, K5, M1). While the transliteration and the variant reading are included in an Appendix, the main body of the thesis provides the transcription of the text and a translation together with a detailed commentary and an introduction. The present work goes beyond earlier studies by covering the glosses of the Pahlavi version as well as the translation of the Av. original, and by investigating the reception of themes of this text in Indo-Iranian and in later Zoroastrian literature.

## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	3
Table of Figures .....	6
Acknowledgment .....	8
Abbreviations.....	10
Notes on the present edition.....	14
1 Introduction.....	17
1.1 The Avestan and Pahlavi languages.....	22
1.2 Haōma in the Indo-Iranian and Zoroastrian Traditions.....	27
1.3 The metrical system of the Avestan Hymn to Haōma .....	30
1.4 The Zoroastrian Texts and Their Translations .....	32
1.5 Previous Research on the Pahlavi Versions of the Avesta.....	35
2 Description of the Manuscripts .....	41
2.1 The Colophons of Hōšang Syāwaxš in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6 .....	42
2.2 The Manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna .....	56
2.3 The Manuscripts of the Indian Pahlavi Yasna .....	63
3 Tradition of Transmission and Method of Research.....	74
3.1 Tradition of Transmission .....	75
3.2 Method of Research .....	88
4 Text and Commentary.....	91
4.1 Y 9.1.....	92
4.2 Y 9.2.....	120
4.3 Y 9.3.....	132
4.4 Y 9.4.....	138
4.5 Y 9.5.....	147
4.6 Y 9.6.....	155
4.7 Y 9.7.....	162
4.8 Y 9.8.....	165

4.9	Y 9.9.....	194
4.10	Y 9.10.....	195
4.11	Y 9.11.....	206
4.12	Y 9.12.....	232
4.13	Y 9.13.....	233
4.14	Y 9.14.....	255
4.15	Y 9.15.....	270
<b>5</b>	<b>Appendix: (Transliteration and Text-critical Apparatus) .....</b>	<b>282</b>
5.1	Y 9.1.....	283
5.2	Y 9.2.....	286
5.3	Y 9.3.....	288
5.4	Y 9.4.....	289
5.5	Y 9.5.....	292
5.6	Y 9.6.....	294
5.7	Y 9.7.....	295
5.8	Y 9.8.....	297
5.9	Y 9.9.....	299
5.10	Y 9.10.....	300
5.11	Y 9.11.....	303
5.12	Y 9.12.....	306
5.13	Y 9.13.....	307
5.14	Y 9.14.....	309
5.15	Y 9.15.....	310
<b>6</b>	<b>References.....</b>	<b>312</b>

## Table of Figures

Figure 1. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 3v line 13-14).....	48
Figure 2. Left: An example of the palaeography of ī in the colophon of G14 (fol. 19v line 9); right: An example of the palaeography of ē in G14 (Y 9.2 fol. 53r). .....	48
Figure 3. Left: An example of the palaeography of ī in the colophon of T6 (fol. 7r line 2); right: An example of the palaeography of ē in Y 9.2 T6 (fol. 44r). .....	48
Figure 4. Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat, p. 368. ....	58
Figure 5. Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat, p. 371. ....	59
Figure 6. YIndP J2 (fol. 383v line 14-15). .....	66
Figure 7. YIndP K5 (fol. 326v line 3). .....	69
Figure 8. YIndP K5 (fol. 326v line 9). .....	69
Figure 9. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54r lines 2-4). .....	94
Figure 10. YIrP F2 (fol. 51v line 2). ....	100
Figure 11. YIrP T6. (right: Fol. 43r line 9; left: Fol. 43r line 10). .....	100
Figure 12. Pt4 (fol. 54r line 12). ....	100
Figure 13. The variant readings of mad(an) or mihr in the Iranian and Indian manuscripts. ....	104
Figure 14. The suggested place for the Avestan phrase in YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54r line 16). ....	105
Figure 15. YIrP F2 (fol. 51r line 12). .....	105
Figure 16. YIndS B3 (fol. 31v). ....	106
Figure 17. YIrP P4 (fol 54r). .....	111
Figure 18. YIrP T6 (fol. 43v line 5-6). .....	112
Figure 19. YIrP F2 (fol. 51r line 11-12). ....	112
Figure 20. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54v line 3). .....	113
Figure 21. YIrP Mf4 (p. 147 lines 9-11). ....	126
Figure 22. Left: YIrP G14 (fol. 53r); left: YIrP T6 (fol. 44r). ....	127
Figure 23. Left: YIrP G14 (fol. 53r line 5); right: YIrP T6 (fol. 44r line 8). .....	127
Figure 24. YIrP F2 (fol. 52r. line 7). .....	127
Figure 25. YIrP F2 (fol. 52r). An astersik appears at the beginning of [kē tis-ē] xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy. ....	128
Figure 26. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54v line 14). ....	129
Figure 27. Right: YIndP J2 (fol. 81r line 15); left: YIndP J2 (fol. 81v line 1). ....	129

Figure 28. YIndP K5 (fol. 60v line 15).....	129
Figure 29. YIrP Mf4 (p. 151 line 3).....	161
Figure 30. Left: YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57v); right: YIrP T55b (fol. 72r).....	172
Figure 31. YIrP T6 (fol. 46v).....	184
Figure 32. The variant readings of <i>dād ī tāzīg</i> . ....	202
Figure 33. Left YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57r line 3); right YirP F2 (fol. 55v line 6). ....	204
Figure 34. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57v line 5-6).....	208
Figure 35. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57v line 9).....	209
Figure 36. YIrP Mf4 (p. 154 line 17).....	210
Figure 37. YIrP T55b (fol. 74v line 1-2).....	210
Figure 38. YIrP F2 (fol. 55v line 11). ....	210
Figure 39. The Šāhnāma manuscript S147 (fol. 29r). ....	219
Figure 40. YIrP T6 (fol. 48r line 2).....	221
Figure 41. YSkt KM7 (fol. 53v line 8). ....	221
Figure 42. The orthography of <i>ān ī-š ... ān any ī-š</i> in the Iranian and Indian manuscripts. .....	225
Figure 43. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 58r line 1).....	230
Figure 44. YIrP T55b (fol. 75r line 1-2). ....	230
Figure 45. The variant readings of (𐭥) 𐭥 <i>mān</i> in the Iranian and Indian manuscripts.....	253
Figure 46. YIrP T6 (fol. 49r line 9).....	254
Figure 47. The variant readings of <i>harwisp wāz</i> in YIndPs. ....	268

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## Abbreviations

### 1) General

abl.	Ablative
acc.	Accusative
aor.	Aorist
Av.	Avestan
AY.	Era after Yazdgird III
CE.	Common Era
dat.	Dative
du.	Dual
f.	Feminine
fn.	Footnote
IIr.	Indo-Iranian
impf.	Imperfect
ipt.	Imperative
ind.	Indicative
inj.	Injunctive
instr.	Instrumental
fol.	Folio
gen.	Genitive
Gr.	Greek
Kurd. Sor.	Kurdish, Sorāni
loc.	Locative
m.	Masculine
marg.	Margin
MIr	Middle Iranian
NP.	New Persian
ntr.	Neuter
OAv.	Old Avestan
OIr.	Old Iranian
OP.	Old Persian
opt.	Optative

Oss.	Ossetian
Phl.	Pahlavi
Pl.	Plural
pres.	Present
sg.	Singular
Skt.	Sanskrit
subj.	Subjunctive
YAv.	Young Avestan
vb.	Verb
Ved.	Vedic
voc.	Vocative

## 2) Texts

AB	Āṣār al-Bāqiya ‘n al-Qorun al-Xāliya
ASd	Artaxerxes, Susa, d
AWZ	Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag
DB	Darius, Bistun
DHR	Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat
DkM	Dēnkard Madan
DSK	Darius, Susa, k
FīŌ	Frahang ī Ōīm
FrW	Fragment Westergaard
H	Hādōxt Nask
HN	Hērbedestān and Nērangestān
HP	Hādōxt Nask Pahlavi
HR	Husraw ud Rēdag
IrBd	Iranian Bundahišn
KM	Kalila wa Dimna
KN	Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pāpagān
MB	Mu‘jam al-Buldān
MBP	Mahābhārata, Poona edition
MHD	Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān
PRDd	The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg

RV	Rig-veda
SdBd	Sad-dar Nasr Bundahišn
ŚB	Śrīmad Bhāgavatam
ŠĒ	Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr
ŠNŠ	Šāyist Nē Šāyist
Vd	Vīdēvdād
VdIndS	Vīdēvdād Indian Sāde
VdIrS	Vīdēvdād Iranian Sāde
VdP	Vīdēvdād Pahlavi
Vd-sts.no.-A	Vīdēvdād, stanza number, Avestan original
Vd-sts.no.-P	Vīdēvdād, stanza number, Pahlavi version
VrIndP	Visperad Indian Pahlavi
VrIndS	Visperad Indian Sāde
VrP	Visperad Pahlavi
Vyt	Vištāsp Yašt
Y	Yasna
YIndP(s)	Yasna(s) Indian Pahlavi
YIndS	Yasna Indian Sāde
YIrP(s)	Yasna(s) Iranian Pahlavi
YIrS	Yasna Iranian Sāde
YSkt	Yasna Sanskrit
Y-sts.no.-A	Yasna, stanza number, Avestan original
Y-sts.no.-P	Yasna, stanza number, Pahlavi version
Yt	Yašt
Zs	Zādsparam

### 3) Books, journals and collections

AcIr	Acta Iranica
AI	Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik
AiGr	Altindische Grammatik
AirWb	Altiranisches Wörterbuch
AO	Acta Orientalia
ArOr	Archív Orientální

BAI	Bulletin of the Asia Institute
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
DKhS	Dictionary of Khotan Saka
EWAia	Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen
GlrPh	Grundriss der iranischen Philologie
IEW	Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
Kratylos	Kritisches Berichts- und Rezensionsorgan für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft
LIV	Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben
Ln	Loḡatnāma, Dehkhoda
NTS	Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society
StIr	Studia Iranica
ZII	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik

## Notes on the present edition

The Avestan and Pahlavi texts are transcribed according to the systems suggested by Hoffmann (1970) and MacKenzie (1971), respectively. However, as regards MacKenzie's system, in the following examples, the new scholarly trends are followed:

<'> for 𐬀 in heterograms

<'> for 𐬀 in heterograms

<H> for 𐬀 in heterograms

<H> for 𐬀 in heterograms

Phl. *mynwd* (*mēnōy*) rather than *mynwḱ* (*mēnōg*)

Phl. *gytyy* (*gētīy*) rather than *gytyḱ* (*gētīg*)<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the Avestan and Pahlavi texts, Arabic, New Persian and (Vedic) Sanskrit passages are studied in the commentaries when necessary. As far as the transcription of the Arabic and New Persian texts are concerned, the signs are built on MacKenzie's system of transcription in the present edition. The reason is that while the phonetic values of Classic New Persian and Pahlavi are close, New Persian shares a similar alphabetic system with Arabic. Therefore, the phonemic values of the of the Arabic alphabet, which is a consonantal system, are drawn according to the following table:

خ :<x>	ح :<h>	ج :<j>	ث :<s>	ت :<t>	ب :<b>	ء :<'>, <ā>, <u>, <i>
ص :<š>	ش :<š>	س :<s>	ز :<z>	ر :<r>	ذ :<z>	د :<d>
ق :<q>	ف :<f>	غ :<g>	ع :<'>	ظ :<z>	ط :<t>	ض :<z>
ه :<h>	و :<v>	ن :<n>	م :<m>	ل :<l>	گ :<g>	ک :<k>
						ی :<y>

Regarding the transcription of New Persian, it should be noted that there are four consonants پ, چ, گ and ژ which are absent in Arabic. In the present edition, they are shown by *p*, *č*, *g* and *ž*. Moreover, while the Arabic loanwords are written exactly as in Arabic,

<sup>1</sup> For the transcription *mēnōy* and *gētīy* rather than *mēnōg* and *mēnōg* see Skjærvø (1995: 269, fn. 15; 2002: 30, fn.7; 2009b: 480, fn.8 and 481 fn. 12; 2011c: 63 fn. 33).

there are Arabic consonants which are alien in New Persian. These consonants are assimilated to their closest corresponding phonemes in New Persian as follows:

ط, ت are realised to /t/.

ص, س, ث are realised to /s/.

ح is realised to /h/.

ذ, ز, ض are realised to /z/.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, they are transcribed by *t*, *s*, *h* and *z*, in the present edition. The vowels in classic New Persian are similar to those of Pahlavi. However, they develop from Classic to Modern New Persian according to the following table:<sup>3</sup>

Classic New Persian	Modern New Persian
ā	ā
a	a
i	e
ī/ē	ī
u	o
ū/ō	u

In the present edition, the New Persian texts of the Šāhnāma, Garšāsbnāma, colophons and interlinear version of the Avestan original and its Zand together with the Zoroastrian New Persian passages of the Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat, Sad-dar Nasr Bundahišn and Zarātuštnāma are transcribed according to the Classic New Persian vowel system. Finally, the Devanāgarī script of the Sanskrit texts are transcribed according to the following tables:

Sanskrit vowels	
अ a	आ ā
इ i	ई ī
उ u	ऊ ū

<sup>2</sup> See Perry (2002).

<sup>3</sup> See Abolghassemi (1996 (1375): 18); Windfuhr & Perry (2009: 425).

ऋ ṛ	ॠ ṝ
ए e	ऐ ai
ओ o	औ au

Sanskrit consonants							
	-V, -A <sup>4</sup>	-V, +A	+V, -A	+V, +A	+V	+V	-V
Guttural	क ka	ख kha	ग ga	घ gha	ङ ṅa		ह ha
Palatal	च ca	छ cha	ज ja	झ jha	ञ ña	य ya	श śa
Retroflex	ट ṭa	ठ ṭha	ड ḍa	ढ ḍha	ण ṇa	र ra	ष ṣa
Dental	त ta	थ tha	द da	ध dha	न na	लृ la	स sa
Labial	प pa	फ pha	ब ba	भ bha	म ma	व va	

<sup>4</sup> -V: Non-voiced, +V: Voiced; -A: Non-aspirate, +A: Aspirate.



# 1 Introduction

The present work provides a detailed study of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15 which itself is a translation accompanied by commentaries of its corresponding Avestan original. Y 9 is the first of the three chapters of the Hōm Yašt, a hymn to Av. *haōma*-<sup>5</sup> (= Phl. *hōm*), an Indo-Iranian deity who represents the embodiment of the sacrificial plant used in the chief Zoroastrian ritual, the Yasna. During the ceremony, twigs of the plant are pressed to extract its juice. As a result, the deity Haōma rewards worshippers with strength, victory, health, healing and knowledge.<sup>6</sup> The opening stanzas of the Hōm Yašt (Y 9.1-2) is followed by Y 9.3-15 whose feature is described by Malandra (2004: 431) as follows:

‘From a text-critical perspective, it does not seem possible to trace the origin of these passages to Yašt passages, nor to derive the Yašt passages from them. Rather, this material appears to have been drawn from common oral sources, which all precede the redaction of the extant Avesta.’

The justification for choosing Y 9.1-15 as a text within Y 9 for edition is that it constitutes an independent subsection in Y 9. The first stanza of Y 9 describes the meeting of Av. *zaraθuštra*- (= Phl. *zardušt*) with the deity Haōma while the former was reciting the Gāθās and purifying the fire. In the Pahlavi version, the deity Mihr also attends Zardušt’s ceremony together with Hōm.<sup>7</sup> In a conversation that develops between Zaraθuštra and Haōma, the former asks questions to Haōma about the first four individuals who pressed him.<sup>8</sup> Haōma instructs Zaraθuštra that in addition to his father Av. *pourušaspa*- (= Phl. *porušasp*), there were three other figures who pressed Haōma in the past before Pourušaspa and they were granted with the reward of the birth of heroic sons. These fathers were, chronologically, Av. *vīuuauṇʰaṇt*- (= Phl. *wīwanghān*), Av. *āθβīia*- (= Phl. *āspiyān*) and Av. *θrita*- (Phl. *srīd*). The sons of Vīuuauṇʰaṇt and Āθβīia were Av. *yima*- (= Phl. *jam*) and Av. *θraētaona*- (= Phl. *frēdōn*), respectively. In contrast to the other fathers, two sons, namely Av. *uruuāxšaiia*- (= Phl. *urwāxš*) and Av. *kərəsāspa*- (= Phl. *kirsāsp*), were born to θrita as a result of pressing Haōma.<sup>9</sup> The title of this thesis, ‘reward for sacrifice’, is inspired by this aspect of the story and alludes to the feature that the ritual forms part of a system of *do-ut-des*, or exchange and reciprocity.

<sup>5</sup> The diphthong *aō* < \**ay* is the preferred spelling in manuscripts, giving better readings. See Hintze (2014a: 24); de Vaan (2000: 523-533).

<sup>6</sup> For Haōma in the Indo-Iranian tradition see section 1.2.

<sup>7</sup> For the occurrence of Mihr in Y 9.1 see Y 9.1 commentary 8 *mīhrō upāit zardušt* and also, Y 9.1 commentary 12 *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mīhr šnāsēd*.

<sup>8</sup> See Y 9.1-3, 6, 9, 12.

<sup>9</sup> See Y 9. 4, 7, 10, 13.

The first hero, Yima, made by his rule animal, man, water and plant undying (Y 9.4). Moreover, during his reign there was neither old-age nor death, nor the demon-created envy and with a growth of a fifteen-year old,<sup>10</sup> father and son each other went forth (Y 9.5). Ōraētaona appears as a hero who killed the dragon Dahāka. Interestingly, some manuscripts add a Pahlavi commentary according to which the dragon was fettered by Frēdōn rather than being killed by him (Y 9.8).<sup>11</sup> As mentioned above, Ōrita had two sons rather than just one (Y 9.10). Urwāxšaia is described as a judge who according to Yt 15.28 was killed by Hitāspa. It is known from Yt 19.41 that his second son, Kirsāsp, killed the murderer of his brother.<sup>12</sup> In the both Avestan and Pahlavi literature, Kərəsāspa is a major hero, however, committed the offence of slaying of the Fire according to Pahlavi Rivāyat and Zoroastrian Persian texts.<sup>13</sup> In the Hōm Yašt (Y 9.11), he is described as the killer of the horned dragon. Zaruštra is the last son who was born to Pourušaspa. Zaruštra recited the Ahunawar prayer and made in the earth all the demons, who previously, having the shape of humans appeared on this earth (Y 9.14-15). According to the Pahlavi commentary of Y 9.15, the demons before the recitation of Ahunawar by Zardušt were of two types:

- 1) Demons whose material bodies were transformable into their spiritual forms.
- 2) Demons who were unable to transform their material form into the spiritual shape.

While the demons of the first group are still able to do evil in the body of humans and animals, those of the second group were destroyed through the recitation of Ahunawar by the prophet.<sup>14</sup>

The present edition consists of an Introduction in chapters and of a main part. The first chapter of the Introduction discusses the features of the Pahlavi version of the Avestan original and Indo-Iranian features of the plant-deity Hōm according to the Vedic, Avestan and Pahlavi literature. It also includes an overview of the poetic structure of the Yašts in general and of the hymn to Hōm in particular. Finally, past scholarship on the Pahlavi version of the Avesta from the eighteenth century onwards is reviewed.

<sup>10</sup> In Zoroastrianism, fifteen years old is the age of maturity after which men and women should not walk without the sacred girdle. See Vd 18.54.

<sup>11</sup> For Frēdōn as a hero captor and hero slayer see Y 9.8 commentary 1 *kē-š zad*.

<sup>12</sup> See Y 9.10 commentary 5 *urwāxš ud kirsāsp*.

<sup>13</sup> See Skjærvø (2011a).

<sup>14</sup> See Y 9.15 commentary 1 *pad dēw kirbīh*.

The second chapter deals with the colophons of manuscripts collated in the present edition. These manuscripts are, of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna (YIrP) Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b, and, of the Indian Pahlavi Yasna (YIndP) J2, K5 and M1. Of the six Iranian manuscripts, studied in the present edition, four contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš, dated 1495 CE. Hōšang Syāwaxš's colophon is followed by another one in which the history of the compilation of the first bilingual Avestan-Pahlavi manuscript is narrated. However, while the colophons as they appear in Pt4 and Mf4 have been studied extensively, their text in the two other copies of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line,<sup>15</sup> or G14 and T6, has not been investigated. They are studied here for the first time in greater detail. On the basis of an examination of the text of the colophons in these manuscripts, I suggest that the colophon as it appears in G14 and T6 has been corrected. Furthermore, I put forward a new filiation which differs from proposals by West (1896-1904), Dhabhar (1923), Tavadia (1944) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005). In addition to the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš, other colophons in Pahlavi (Mf4, G14, J2, K5, M1), New Persian (T6), Sanskrit (K5)<sup>16</sup> and Gujarati (G14, F2, T6)<sup>17</sup> which appear in the manuscripts are discussed.

The history of the transmission of the Avesta and Zand is discussed in the first section of the third chapter according to narratives attested in the Zoroastrian, Greek and Latin sources together with evidence from the manuscripts. In the section, the quality of the collated manuscripts in the present edition is also examined. As for the old YIndPs, their quality cannot be investigated because they were written by the same scribe in 1323 CE and no older manuscript is available for comparison. As far as possible corrections in the manuscripts are concerned, according to Anquetil-Duperron (1771), the Iranian priest called Dastur Jāmāsp Velāyati, arrived in India in the early eighteenth century. Reviewing the Vīdēvdād manuscripts, he declared that their Pahlavi version is too lengthy and inaccurate. As a result, he corrected them. He also had three students who, following his teachings, produced new copies different from their older counterparts. Cantera & Andrés-Toledo (2008) investigated the features of the corrected Vīdēvdād manuscripts. In the present edition, it is shown that the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna copies, written down after the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp, have the same features as the Vīdēvdād corrected codices. Apart from the corrected parts, the Iranian and Indian copies offer the same text with minor variations

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<sup>15</sup> The manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, which contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš, are called the copies of Hōšang Syāwaxš-line in the present edition.

<sup>16</sup> The translation is after Goldman (in press).

<sup>17</sup> Kerman Daruwalla kindly translated the Gujarati colophons upon my request.

which are mainly orthographic. For example, in Y 9.1 line 3, the verb *raft* is written by the eteogram *lpt* and the heterogram *SGYTWN-t* in the Iranian and Indian manuscripts, respectively. In the following section, the methods of textual criticism are critically analysed. Considering the features of the Pahlavi manuscripts, the old Indian sister manuscripts J2 and K5, predating the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp, were nominated to serve as the base text. Of the two, the manuscript K5 was selected because while J2 is silent as to its source, in the colophon of K5, the scribe, Mihrābān Kayhusraw, names a manuscript of Rōstahm Mihrābān as the source of his copy.

The main part of this thesis consists of an edition and English translation of the Pahlavi version of the Yasna 9 stanzas 1-15 in transcription, based on YIndP K5.<sup>18</sup> The Pahlavi text is preceded by the transcription and English translation of its corresponding Avestan original, based on the edition of Geldner. While the English translation aims at being as close as possible to the Avestan and Pahlavi original, this has not been always possible. For example, the literal translation of *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* as “what respect was made to him” is incorrect in English. Therefore, it is translated as “what respect was shown to him” in the present edition. The Avestan original and Pahlavi version are followed by the commentary section in which different linguistic, ritualistic and mythological aspects of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15, as an independent text or in association with its Avestan original, are discussed in detail. It should be noted that the number of the linguistic studies outweighs that of the two latter ones. The reason is that on the one hand, many mythological aspects of the characters in the Hōm Yašt have so far been studied by scholars. On the other hand, connotation to the rituals are mainly attested in Y 9.1 and Y 9.14. Furthermore, although the focus of the present edition is on the Pahlavi version, on two occasions, long commentaries to the Avestan words *pourušaspa-* and *nmāna-* are provided. The reason for analysing the former is that the decision on the phonemic values of the vowels of the Avestan word can contribute into the edition of its Pahlavi counterpart whose phonemic values of the vowels as a loanword cannot be determined from the Pahlavi orthography of the variant readings attested in the manuscripts.<sup>19</sup> Regarding *nmāna-*, it occurs with *pourušaspa-* as gen. sg. *nmānahe pourušaspahe* in Y 9.13, translated by Phl. *andar mān ī porušasp* in Pahlavi. Studying two possible meanings of *nmāna-* as “house” vs. “household”, its interpretation in the Pahlavi literature is investigated. The evidence favours

<sup>18</sup> For the method of research see section 3.2.

<sup>19</sup> See Y 9.13 commentary 2 *porušasp*.

the former meaning of house as a physical construction in the both languages. Furthermore, it is suggested that the genitive case of *nmānahe pourušaspahe* in Y 9.13 agrees with an IE formula in the same case which identifies ancestry. Following this suggestion, the Pahlavi translation of genitives identifying ancestry is studied in Y 9.13 and Y 43.7 and it is shown that the Pahlavi translators rendered them correctly from the semantic point of view by the preposition *andar* and *az*, respectively.

The ensuing chapter is the Appendix in which the transliteration of the Pahlavi text and the variant readings of the six manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi and of the three manuscripts of the Indian Pahlavi Yasna are provided. Their readings are arranged in the text-critical apparatus according to the following order:

YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b; YIndP J2, K5, M1.

Obviously, although K5 serves as the base text, the variant readings of the Iranian manuscripts precede those of their Indian counterpart. The reason is that at the time of drawing the apparatus, following the scholarly consensus, it was assumed that the quality of the Pahlavi version of YIrPs surpasses that of their Indian counterparts. However, this consensus is mainly based on the interpretation of the colophons of the Iranian manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line and the better quality of their Avestan texts. By contrast, as mentioned above, the analysis in the present research suggests that the Pahlavi text of YIrPs is corrected.

### 1.1 The Avestan and Pahlavi languages

For the Iranian languages, scholars consider three developmental stages which chronologically are termed Old, Middle and New Iranian (Windfuhr 2009: 9). The earliest Zoroastrian texts in Avestan, an Old Iranian language closely related to the (Vedic) Sanskrit, were composed in the primary linguistic stage known as Old Avestan presumably in the mid-second millennium BCE. These Old Avestan texts petrified and were canonised, probably at an early stage, while the oral composition of new texts belonging to a later chronological stage continued and came to be classified as Young Avestan. These Avestan texts were in all likelihood transmitted exclusively in an oral setting until the advent of the Sasanians (224-651 CE) when they were written down in a consciously invented and extremely clear phonetic script reflecting the accurate recording of the recitatives (Skjærvø

2009: 43-46).<sup>20</sup> The liturgical text of the Yasna with 72 chapters, or *hāitis*, constitutes one of the most important books of the extant Avesta. The Old Avestan texts, consisting of the Gāṅās, the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti together with three short prayers, are embedded in the centre of the Yasna and are flanked on the either sides by the Young Avestan texts (Hintze 2007a: 1). As regards the grammar, the Avestan nouns maintain the Indo-Iranian declension system in which three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter), three numbers (singular, dual, plural) and eight cases (nominative, accusative, ablative, instrumental, dative, genitive, locative, vocative) exist. Like the Vedic language, the Avestan verbal system knows three numbers (singular, dual, plural), four tenses (present, imperfect, perfect, aorist), five moods (indicative, injunctive, subjunctive, optative, imperative) and two voices (active, middle). The language of some Avestan texts such as Y 12-15 and 58 are called pseudo-Old Avestan, or better: Middle Avestan, whose feature is described by de Vaan (2003: 8) as follows:

‘They show the lengthening of originally short Young Avestan word-final vowels. Here, we are clearly dealing with a much later, artificial development, which was intended to give the Young Avestan text an Old Avestan flavour’.

However, there are pseudo-Old Avestan forms which have no parallel either in the OAv or YAv texts. Proposing the term Middle Avestan, Tremblay (2006: 233-281) suggests that pseudo-Old Avestan texts show a middle stage from which YAv. developed. However, Skjærvø (2009c: 45), being cautious about accepting Tremblay’s suggestion, states that:

‘On the one hand, the Old Avestan texts contain many elements that are clearly borrowed from or influenced by Young Avestan and, on the other hand, Young Avestan texts contain both elements that are imitations of Old Avestan (pseudo-Old Avestan) and later features introduced by the scribes (including from local spoken languages). This makes it a challenge to determine which of the sound changes we observe in our extant manuscripts already belonged to the ‘original’ two languages and which ones were introduced during the oral and written transmission of the texts. It renders even more problematic attempts to identify additional linguistic stages between Old and Young Avestan.’

By contrast, pointing out three forms which disagree with both OAv and YAv linguistic features, Hintze (2014a: 17-19) takes side with Tremblay. These forms are *hā* < \**sa*-s, the nom. sg. m. of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person demonstrative pronoun; gen. sg. *aṣaṅhācā* of the stem *aṣa-* and gen. sg. *aṣāuuairiāscā* of the stem *aṣāuuairi-*.

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<sup>20</sup> For the tradition of transmission see section 3.1.

During the Sasanian (224-652 CE) and early Islamic periods, parts of the Avesta, including the long liturgical texts,<sup>21</sup> were translated by Zoroastrian priests into Zoroastrian Middle Persian, or Pahlavi, a Middle Iranian language, which was the then vernacular *koine* and the ancestor of New Persian. These translations included commentaries on the passages of the Avesta. The original Avestan text of the Yasna and its Pahlavi translation and commentary of the liturgical texts, appear in bilingual manuscripts in a feature according to which Pahlavi translations and commentaries are inserted between short sections of Avestan phrases. This feature is remarkable in that there is only one known parallel outside the Zoroastrian tradition: The bilingual Prākṛit-Aramaic regnal inscription of the Buddhist emperor Aśoka (r. 3rd century BCE).<sup>22</sup> As regards the Pahlavi translation technique of the Avesta, Josephson (1997: 120-151) extensively studied it in the Hōm Yašt. Cantera (2004: 240-341) completed Josephson's research by examining the Pahlavi translation technique of other Avestan texts, especially that of the Vīdēvdād, Yasna, Yašts and Xwardag Abestāg. Josephson (1997: 154) summarises the Pahlavi translation technique of the Avestan categories as follows:

‘Av. is a language with a rich system of inflection and an extensive pattern of agreement. Phl. has a greatly reduced system of inflection and uses lexical items (prepositions and particles), word order (e.g. adjacency in noun phrases) and semantic context in addition to inflection to realize syntactic relations.’

The Pahlavi word order has been shown to result from a word for word translation of the Avesta original, for example:

Y 9.1	Av.	<i>haōmō</i>	<i>upāiṭ</i>	<i>zaraθuštrəm</i>
	Phl.	<i>hōm</i>	<i>abar raft</i>	<i>ō zardušt</i>

Y 9.5	Av.	<i>yauuata</i>	<i>xšaiiōiṭ</i>	<i>hūuqθβō</i>	<i>yimō</i>	<i>vīvaŋ<sup>v</sup>hatō</i>	<i>puθrō</i>
	Phl.	<i>hamē tā ka</i>	<i>padixšā būd</i>	<i>hūramag</i>	<i>jam</i>	<i>ī wīwanghān</i>	<i>pus</i>

<sup>21</sup> Long liturgical texts are the Yasna, Visperad, Vīdēvdād and Vištāsp Yašt.

<sup>22</sup> See Cantera (2004: 240-242); Josephson (1997: 120-165); Spiegel (1860: 5-6).



As the Pahlavi version is mainly a calque of the Avestan original, it usually disagrees with the Pahlavi SOV<sup>23</sup> syntax, for example, the correct order of the two translations mentioned above is as follows:

\* *hōm ō zardušt abar raft*

\* *hamē tā hūramag jam [šēd] ī wīwanghān pus padixšā būd*

However, the order is not always determined by the Avestan original. For example, as pointed out by Josephson (1997: 45), the order of the Avestan formulaic structure *astuuaiθiiāi hunūta gaēθiiāi*<sup>24</sup> was changed in the Pahlavi version according to which *astōmandān gēhān*, translating *astuuaiθiiāi* and *gaēθiiāi*, respectively, are juxtaposed as *astōmandān gēhān*. Another example is the Pahlavi translation of Y 9.5 *pañca dasa fracarōiθe pita puθrasca raodaēšuuā katarasciṭ* in which the translation of *raodaēšuuā*, or Phl. *ārōyišn*, occurs after the Pahlavi translation of *pañca dasa*, or *pānzdah sālag*:

Av. *pañca dasa fracarōiθe pita puθrasca raodaēšuuā katarasciṭ*

Phl. *pānzdah sālag ārōyišn frāz raft hēnd pid ud pus kadār-iz-ē*

In conclusion, the evidence suggests that the Pahlavi version is not entirely based on the order of the Avestan original and the Pahlavi exegetes maintained a limited degree of freedom. Unlike the Pahlavi translation, the commentary usually follows the Pahlavi syntax. However, for example the structure of the commentary *xwarrahōmand dārēd xwēškārīh* “the glorious has the duty” in Y 9.4 is closer to the Pahlavi translation as the expected syntax is \**xwarrahōmand xwēškārīh dārēd*. This suggests that the commentary was borrowed from a lost Pahlavi translation of an Avestan verse. In addition, Avestan quotations or Avestan Pahlavicised forms occur in the Pahlavi version, for example:

Y 9.8 *kō θβqm yim ahurəm mazdqm*

Y 9.11 *xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna*

Y 9.1 *mīhrō upāit zardušt*

<sup>23</sup> Subject, object, verb.

<sup>24</sup> It occurs in Y 9.4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12 and 13.

From the semantic point of view, having studied the Pahlavi version of the Avesta, Spiegel (1860: 69) argues that while there are several examples which show that the grammatical features of the Avestan original are expressed incorrectly, the Pahlavi version usually renders the original words correctly. Likewise, recent findings confirm Spiegel's evaluation.<sup>25</sup> In the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15, mistranslations of the Avestan grammatical categories also occur. For instance, the Avestan nom. sg. *mašiiiō* in Y 9.3, 6, 9 and 12 is translated by the pl. *mardōmān* preceded by the preposition *az* "from, among" (Josephson 1997: 45). In Y 9.14, the nom. sg. *srūtō* is translated by *ān ī nāmīg* preceded by *andar* "in" (Josephson 1997: 55). Moreover, the superlative adjectives Av. *tañcištō* "mightiest" and *varəθrajaštəmō* "the most victorious" are expressed by the absolute Phl. *tagīg* "brave" and the comparative adjective *pērōzgartar* "more victorious" in Y 9.15. In the same stanza, the impf. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. *abauuat* "he was, he became" is also rendered by 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. *dād ēstē* "you have been created" (Josephson 1997: 56). By contrast, it is sometimes impossible to express the Avestan grammatical categories in Pahlavi. For instance, 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. impf. *ākərənauuō* in *tūm zəmərgūzō ākərənauuō vīspe daēuua zaraθuštra* is expressed by 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. past *kard hēnd* in agreement with the grammatical subject *harwisp dēw* rather than the agent *tō* in the ergative construction *tō andar zamīg nigān kard hēnd harwisp dēw* (Josephson 1997: 56).

Finally, Spiegel (1860: 28-29) compares the similarities between the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta and the Aramaic version (*targumim*) of the Old and New Testaments. He suggests that the Targumim had a great impact on the development of the Pahlavi translations. These similarities are:<sup>26</sup>

- 1) Both traditions show the word-by-word translations technique.
- 2) Both translations include comments and glosses.

Cantera (2004: 244-245), however, casts doubt on Spiegel's suggestion by stating that the Pahlavi manuscripts display a mixture of features of the Indo-Iranian tradition and that attested in the Targum. As an example of the differences between the Pahlavi and Targum traditions, he mentions that while the Aramaic translations were written down to be recited in synagogues, the Pahlavi translations, representing the Zoroastrian scholastic tradition, are not ritual texts.<sup>27</sup> For the Indo-Iranian features of the Avestan-Pahlavi texts, he compares

<sup>25</sup> See Cantera (2015a).

<sup>26</sup> See Cantera (2004: 244-245).

<sup>27</sup> For the Zoroastrian texts see section 1.4.

the similarities between the Rig-vedic Padapāṭha structure and the Avestan compositional and word-separating dot.<sup>28</sup>

## 1.2 Haōma in the Indo-Iranian and Zoroastrian Traditions

Av. *haōma-* (= Phl. *hōm*)/Ved. *sóma-* is the Indo-Iranian name of a plant and deity.<sup>29</sup> In contemporary Zoroastrianism, the plant is regarded as a species of Ephedra (Kotwal & Boyd 1991: 16-17).<sup>30</sup> In agreement with the age-old Indo-Iranian tradition, the plant twigs are pressed to extract its juice which is mingled with water and milk.<sup>31</sup> In the Vedic mythology, Soma is consumed by Indra as a stimulant juice to smash the dragon Vṛtra:

RV 1.32.3 *vr̥ṣāyámāṇo 'vr̥ṇīta sómaṃ tríkadrūkeṣu apibat sutásya*...<sup>32</sup>

Acting the bull, he chose for his own Soma. He drank of the pressed Soma among the Trikadrukas [= Maruts?] ...<sup>33</sup>

Unlike the oldest Vedic text, the Rig-veda, *haōma-* is absent in the Old Avesta although its attributes namely *dūraoša-* “who averts perdition?” (Y 32.14) and *mada-* “intoxication” (Y 48.10) do occur in the Gāṇās. They have been associated with rituals performed by Kauuis and Karapans who were the enemies of Zaratuštra according to the Zoroastrian tradition. Therefore, they have been traditionally regarded as two examples showing Zaratuštra’s opposition to the Haōma ritual (Rose 2011: 15). According to Y 32.14, Kauuis are *yē dūraoṣam saocaiiaṭ* “who burn Dūraoša”. However, as discussed by Flattery & Schwartz (1989: Part II, 106), the stanza only mentions the burning of Dūraoša (= Haōma?) by Kauuis and nothing is mentioned about the rejection of Haōma ritual by Zaratuštra. Furthermore, the relationship between *dūraoša-* in Y 32.14 and *haōma-* is uncertain because it is the direct object of the causative verb *saocaiia-* “to burn”. This concept can correspond to RV 4.21.6 in which Ved. *duróṣa-* is the epithet of Agni “fire” (Kellens & Pirart 1991: 92). As regards Y 48.10, the verb *ajēn* and *mūṣra-* in *kadā ajēn mūṣrām ahiiā madahiiā* “when-*ajēn-mūṣrām*-of this/his-intoxication” have been interpreted differently by scholars.

<sup>28</sup> For a comparison between the Avestan texts and the Rig-vedic Padapāṭha texts see Cantera (2004: 329-336).

<sup>29</sup> For the botanical identity of Av. *haoma*/Ved. *sóma-* see: Clark (2017); Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 31-32); Houben (2003: 1-47); Flattery & Schwartz (1989: Part I, 3-102).

<sup>30</sup> For the botanical identity of Av. *haōma-*/Ved. *sóma-* see: Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 32); Falk (1989: 77-90); Flattery & Schwartz (1989: 3-102).

<sup>31</sup> Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 30-31); Kotwal & Boyd (1991: 16-17).

<sup>32</sup> Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 20).

<sup>33</sup> Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 135).

For example, translating *mūθrəm* as “booze-urine”, Puhvel (1987: 97) considers it as the object of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. verb *ajān*.<sup>34</sup>

Y 48.10 *kadā ajān mūθrəm ahiiā madahiiā*  
*yā aṅgriiā karapanō urūpaiieiṇti*

When will you crack down on this booze-urine  
Whereby the mumblers-clergy wickedly bring on vomiting (Puhvel: 1987: 97).

By contrast, Insler (1975: 290-291) derives *ajān* from the verbal root *aj-* “to fear” cf. Gr. *ákhomai*. Moreover, he posits that as a hapax legomenon, *mūθra-* is derived from the root *mū* “to be deluded, to fool” according to which he translates the passage as follows:

When shall they fear the folly of that intoxicating drink,  
through the effects of which the Karpans .... torture (Insler 1975: 93).

Skjærvø (2004: 261-262, 268), on the one hand, interprets *ajān* as the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. impf. of the root *jan* “to kill” and mentions that *mūθrəm* can be taken as both the subject or direct object of the verb. On the other hand, he draws attention to semantic difference between YAv. *maēsman-* “urine” and YAv. *mūθra-* “dead matter, (evil) urine” and to a Vedic myth according to which the divine (Indra) urine, produced by the consumed Soma liquid, is described as fertilising. He mentions that to understand the meaning of the Gāṇic *mūθra-*, the mythology of its Vedic counterpart, Ved. *mūtra-* “urine” and YAv. *mūθra-* should be considered (Skjærvø 2004: 265-268). He also shows that while according to Y 48.10, Karpans’ *xratu-* “guiding thought” leads to *dušə.xšaθra-* “bad command”, the followers of the *duš.xratu-* “bad guiding thought” increase *aēšma* “Wrath” (Y 49.4). Moreover, the context of Y 48.9-12 compares the results of the rituals performed by *saošaiiaṇt-* “savour, revitaliser” and those performed by Karpans (Skjærvø 2004: 274-277). Therefore, since in the Avesta, *aēšma-* is opposed by *sraoša-*, Y 48.9-12 describes that while the performer (*par excellence*) of the Haōma ritual enables Sraoša to smash Wrath, the ritual performed by Karpans is inefficient.<sup>35</sup>

‘In conclusion then, it would seem that our text refers to the ritual myth of the *haoma* and the intoxication of the divinity, the victory over the forces of anti-fertility and the

<sup>34</sup> The analysis of the verb *ajān* as 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. has been refuted. See Skjærvø (2004: 259).

<sup>35</sup> Skjærvø (2004: 277-281).

fertilizing of the world by means of the heavenly rain/urine/semen.’<sup>36</sup>

Moreover, Skjærvø suggests that Haōma is encrypted in Y 29.7 since the ingredients of its ritual are attested; Av. *āzuiti* “for libation”, *maq̌ra* “sacred utterance” and *xšuuīd* “milk” (Skjærvø 2015: 420). Following Skjærvø, we may conclude that there are indications in the Gāṇās that, rather than being opposed, the Haōma ritual is regarded as a weapon against the evil forces.

In YAv. and the Vedic texts, Av. *haōma*-/ Ved. *sóma*- is described as a yellowish mountainous plant whose twigs are pounded to extract its juice. This pressed plant, as a deity, is revered for imparting strength, victory, health, healing and knowledge.<sup>37</sup> In some passages of the Avesta and Rig-veda, the adjective Av. *maḍa*- and its corresponding Ved. *mada*- “intoxication” are also used to describe *haōma*-/*sóma*. For example:

Y 10.8 *vīspe ahiie maḍān̄hō*  
*aēšma hacin̄te xruuī.druuō*  
*āq̌t hō yō haomahe maḍō*  
*aša hacaite uruuāsmāna*  
*rəñjaiti haomahe maḍō*

Indeed all, other [forms of] intoxication  
 are accompanied by the Wrath of the bloody club,  
 but Haōma’s intoxication  
 is accompanied by joyful Truth.  
 Haoma’s intoxication [weighs] light...<sup>38</sup>

RV 8.48.6. *agnīm ná māthitām sām didīpaḥ prā cakṣaya kṛṇuhī vásyaso naḥ*  
*áthā hí te máda ā soma mánye revām̐ iva prā carā puṣṭīm ácha*<sup>39</sup>

You have enflamed me like a churned fire. Make us conspicuous; make us better off.  
 For now, in the exhilaration, Soma, I think of myself as a rich man. I shall advance to prosperity.<sup>40</sup>

In the Avesta, the pressed Haōma also brings immortality. This is stated, for example in Vd 6.43 *nōiṭ haōmō hutō axtiš nōiṭ mahrkō* “the pressed Haōma has neither illness nor

<sup>36</sup> Skjærvø (2004: 281).

<sup>37</sup> For the similarities between the Iranian and Indian Haōma/Soma rituals see Haug (1862: 281-283). For the Haōma ritual in Iran see Boyce (2003: 662-667); Kotwal & Boyd (1991). For Av. *haōma*- see Josephson (1997: 43, 51-52, 59, 70, 83-85, 101). For Ved. *sóma*- see MacDonell (1917: 152-154).

<sup>38</sup> Edition and translation by Josephson (1997: 89).

<sup>39</sup> Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 383).

<sup>40</sup> Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 1129).

death”. Likewise, Soma averts death. For example: RV 8.48.3 *ápāma sómam amṛtā abhūma* “We have drunk Soma, we have become immortal”.<sup>41</sup>

In the Pahlavi literature, the mythological White Hōm tree (Phl. *gōkaren*) grows in the mythical river Phl. *ardwīsūr* (IrBd 6.5). It is also the master of all plants and brings immortality: IrBd 16.5 *u-š pad frašgird anōšagīh az-iš wirāyēnd urwarān rad ast* “and they prepare immortality therefrom [i.e. the white Hōm] at the renovation of the universe. It is the chief of plants.”<sup>42</sup> In the Vedic literature, the master of plants is also Soma (MacDonell 1917: 154). Apart from Haōma’s Indo-Iranian inherited features, the plant-deity plays an important role in the story of Zardušt’s birth as his Frawahr<sup>43</sup> was embedded inside a twig of the plant Hōm:

Zs. Chapter 6. *kū frawahr andar hōm u-š xwarrah pēm ī gāw be dahīhistan*

His Frawahar being in the Hōm, his glory was consigned to the milk of the cow.<sup>44</sup>

Later, the twig was cut by the father of Zardušt, or Porušasp. Then, it was pounded and mingled with cow’s milk which carried Zardušt’s Glory (Phl. *xwarrah*) and the mixture was drunk by Dōgdōw, the mother of Zardušt,. As a result, his Glory was united with his Frawahr in the body of his mother (Amouzegar & Tafazzoli 1991(1370) 39-41).

### 1.3 The metrical system of the Avestan Hymn to Haōma

The Yašts are 21 hymns to the Zoroastrian deities. The hymn to Haōma, or the Hōm Yašt, constitutes Yt 21 which is also incorporated into the Yasna with 72 chapters in which it constitutes Yasna 9-11.<sup>45</sup> As mentioned in section 1, Y 9 commences with a dialogue between Zaraθuštra and Haōma when the deity attends Zaraθuštra’s worship. Then, come stanzas 3-15 which list questions posed by Zaraθuštra the seer to Haōma about fathers who pressed Hōm through which heroic sons were born to them. These fathers are Vīuuaṇ<sup>h</sup>haṇt, Āṅβya, Ōrita and Pourušaspa to whom Yima, Ōraētaona, Kərəsāspa and Zaraθuštra were born, respectively. The core of the Hōm Yašt encompasses a series of prayers and eulogies.

<sup>41</sup> Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 383). Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 1129).

<sup>42</sup> The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 146-147).

<sup>43</sup> The Zoroastrian concept which became blended with the notion of *ruwān* “soul” at the early stage of Zoroastrianism (Boyce 2001: 195).

<sup>44</sup> The text is after Anklesaria (1964: 52, LXXXIV).

<sup>45</sup> Hintze (2014c).

The last chapter, or Y 11, is about the curses of the cow, horse and Haōma on priests, warriors who do not treat them as prescribed in the religion (Kellens 1987: 37).

The composition of the Hōm Yašt is different from the other Yašts as it lacks the usual beginning and ending formula and in particular the *ahe raiia* which is the introduction of the formula concluding a Karde (Josephson 1997: 23). Apart from the Gāṇās, the Yašts are the only Avestan texts whose compositional structure is predominantly metrical. However, their irregular metrical nature has caused continuous scholarly debate. Geldner (1877) showed that the verse lines of eight syllables are dominant. Recent studies also confirm the octosyllabic structure of the Yašts.<sup>46</sup> Regarding the Hōm Yašt, the metrical octosyllabic structure is mainly close to the Sanskrit *anuṣṭubh* (four times eight syllables), but there is no fixed number of verse lines per stanza. Other metres are *gāyatrī* (8 + 8: 8) and *pankti* (8 + 8 : 8 + 8 : 8). There are also examples of stanzas containing 16 (7+9 or 9 +7) syllables.<sup>47</sup> As far as the first fifteen stanzas of the Hōm Yašt, studied in the present edition, are concerned, the metre of some verse lines which describe the question of Zaratustra from Ahura Mazdā in Y 9.1(c-d) is irregular:

**Y 9.1** ... *ā dim pārəsaṭ zaraθuštrō*: 8  
*kō narə ahī (d) yim azəm*: 8  
*vīspahe aṇhəuš astuuatō*: 8  
*sraēštəm dādarəsa*: 6  
*x<sup>v</sup>ahe gaiiehe*: 5  
*x<sup>v</sup>anuuatō aməšahe*: 8

According to Pirart (2003: 158-162), the irregular metric verse lines in Y 9.1 have parallels in other YAv. texts, where they are, however, metrically regular: H 2.10 (= Vyt 57.2) *yəm iṭ yauua carāitinəm* (8), *kəhrpa sraēštəm dādarəsa* (8) and Yt 8.11 *šūšuiqəm x<sup>v</sup>ahe gaiiehe* (8), *x<sup>v</sup>anuuatō aməšahe* (8). On this basis, he corrects Y 9.1 *sraēštəm dādarəsa x<sup>v</sup>ahe gaiiehe* to *\*(kəhrpa) sraēštəm dādarəsa (yim azəm) x<sup>v</sup>ahe gaiiehe* (Pirart 2003: 161). However, Kellens (2006: 275-276) mentions that the composer had the possibility to produce an octosyllabic metre by changing the place of *sraēštəm*:

*\*kō narə ahī sraēštəm* (8) “who-man-are (you)-the most beautiful (in the accusative case)”  
*vīspahe aṇhəuš astuuatō* (8) “of all-the material-world”  
*\*dādarəsa x<sup>v</sup>ahe gaiiehe* (8) “I see-in (of) one’s own sunny immortal life”.

<sup>46</sup> For a review on the composition of the Yašts See Hintze (2014c).

<sup>47</sup> For the metric structure of the Hōm Yašts see Malandra (2004: 434); Pirart (2004: 149-248); Kellens (2006: 257-261).

Therefore, according to Kellens (2006: 276), it seems that in Yasna 9.1, like in the expression in Hādōxt Nask 2.10 *kəhrpa sraēštqm dādarəsa*, the juxtaposition of the verb *dādarəsa* and *sraēšta-* is a stylistic and semantic feature which was more important to the composer than maintaining the metrical regularity. Another irregularity is the metre of the interrogative *kasə 9wqm* occurring in Y 9.3, 6, 9, 12. It is followed by octosyllabic verse lines, for example: Y 9.6 *bitiiō haōma mašiiō* (8) *astuuai9iiāi hunūta gaē9iiāi* (8). However, the answer to *kasə 9βqm* is also irregular in Y 9.4, 7 and 13:

Y 9.4 *vīuuay<sup>v</sup>hā mqm paoiriiō mašiiō*  
 Y 9.7 *ā9βiiō mqm bitiiō mašiiō*  
 Y 9.13 *pourušaspō mqm tūriiō mašiiō*

By contrast, the metre in Y 9.10 *9ritō sāmanqm səuuištō* (8) *9ritiiō mqm mašiiō* (7), the answer to Y 9.9, is relatively regular according to which Kellens (2006: 277) reconstructs their corresponding regular octosyllabic formula as follows:

Proper name + epithet (like *sāmanqm səuuištō*)  
 Ordinals (for example *paoiriiō*) + *haōməm mašiiō*

In the Pahlavi version, the dividing manner of the Pahlavi translation and commentary shows that the Pahlavi translators knew the octosyllabic structure of the Hōm Yašt (Josephson 1997: 162).

#### 1.4 The Zoroastrian Texts and Their Translations

Two Zoroastrian liturgical sets have been identified; the so called “short liturgy” and the “long liturgy”. The short liturgies (Xwardag Abestāg and Yašts)<sup>48</sup> represent the cults recited by both the laity and priests. As mentioned above Yašts are 21 hymns in Avestan dedicated to the Zoroastrian deities. The Xwardag Abestāg, by contrast, alongside liturgies composed in Avestan (Niyāyišn, Gāh, Āfrīnagān, Sīh-Rōzag and Yašts), includes some other short

<sup>48</sup> As pointed out by Hintze (2014c), ‘historically, however, the Yašts also formed part of a priestly high ritual, the Bagān Yasn, now lost, by way of their intercalation into the Yasna cum Visperad, along the model exemplified by the Vištāsp Yašt Sāde’.



texts which are composed in Pahlavi and Pāzand. The manuscripts may also contain short liturgies in New Persian, Sanskrit and Gujarati. Therefore, there is no codified text.<sup>49</sup>

Unlike short liturgies, the long ceremonies are only performed inside the fire temple by priests who have undergone the purification ceremony, *barašnūm*.<sup>50</sup> There are five types of such liturgies as found in the manuscripts namely: 1) Yasna; 2) Yasna ī Rapihwin; 3) Visperad; 4) Vīdēvdād and 5) Vištāsp Yašt.<sup>51</sup> The Yasna of 72 chapters, or *hāiti*, is the base text of all other Zoroastrian high rituals. The recitation of 72 chapters of the Yasna plays an important role in the religious ceremonies. It is carried out by two priests early in the morning, or Hāwan Gāh (Hintze 2007a: 1). As mentioned above in section 1.1, the Yasna encompasses texts composed in Old Avestan and Young Avestan. Ahunawar, or Ya9ā Ahū Vairiō (Y 27.13), Ašəm Vohū (Y 27.14), the five Gā9ās (Y 28-34, 43-46, 47-50, 51, 53), the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti (Y 35-41) and Airiāman, or Ā Airiōmā Išiiō, (Y 54) are in Old Avestan. By contrast, the following texts form the Young Avestan section of the Yasna:

Y 1-2: Introductory sections; Y 3-8: Drōn ceremony to Srōš; Y 9-11: Hōm Yašt; Y 12-13: The confession of faith (Frauarānē); Y 14-18: More invocations; Y 19: Commentary to Ya9ā Ahū Vairiō; Y 20: Commentary to Ašəm Vohū; Y 21: Commentary to Yə9he Hātām; Y 22-27.12: More invocations; Y 42: A YAv text interpolated between OAv Y 41 and 43; Y 52: A YAv text interpolated between OAv Y 51 and 52; Y 55: Praises of the Gā9ās and the Staota Yesniia; Y 56: Short invocation of Sraoša; Y 57: Long invocation of Sraoša (Srōš Yašt); Y 58: Fšūšō Ma9ra; Y 59: The stanza repeats Y 19 and Y 26; Y 60: Dahmā Āfritiš; Y 61: Glorification of some prayers; Y 62: Ātaš Nyāyišn; Y 63-69: Āb Zōhr; Y 70-72: Concluding praises.<sup>52</sup>

The Yasna ī Rapihwin is a ceremony during which chapters 1 to 4, 6, 7, 17, 22, 59 and 66 of the Yasna celebrate *rapihwin gāh*, or the noon-watch of the day (Hintze 2012a: 245). In the Visperad ceremony, the text of the Visperad with 22 chapters<sup>53</sup> is incorporated into the text of the 72 chapters of the Yasna.<sup>54</sup> The Visperad serves as a basis for the Vīdēvdād<sup>55</sup>

<sup>49</sup> For short liturgies see Andrés-Toldeo (2015: 521-522).

<sup>50</sup> The greatest purification ritual which lasts nine nights (Boyce 1975b: 111).

<sup>51</sup> See Cantera (2012a: 280); Andrés-Toldeo (2015: 519-522).

<sup>52</sup> See Malandra (2006b); Andrés-Toledo (2015: 520).

<sup>53</sup> It 'supplements the Yasna with invocations and appeals to the patrons (*ratu-*).' (Kellens 1987: 38).

<sup>54</sup> For the insertion formula see Malandra (2013).

<sup>55</sup> Vīdēvdād includes 22 chapters. With the exception of the first two chapters and chapter 19 which contains the temptation of Zarathuštra, the text of Vīdēvdād deals with the purity laws. Chapter 1 narrates the account of the sixteen lands created by Ahura Mazdā, which were afflicted by the counter creation of Anra Maniiu. Chapter 2 describes the story of Yima (Kellens 1987: 39-40).

and Vishtāsp Yasht<sup>56</sup> ceremonies in which further ceremonies are celebrated by intercalating the Vīdēvdād or Vištāsp Yašt texts (Cantera 2012: 280). The liturgical texts of the Yasna, Visperad, Vīdēvdād, Vištāsp, Xwardag Abestāg and some Yašts have been translated into Pahlavi. The Pahlavi version of the Avesta is traditionally called the Zand. Manuscripts that only include the Avestan liturgical texts and the ritual instructions in Pahlavi, New Persian or Gujarati are called *sāda* “Simple”. By contrast, if the Avestan text is accompanied by its corresponding translation and commentary, it is called exegetical which represents the scholastic tradition (Andrés-Toledo 2015: 522-523). However, the history of the exegetical tradition can be traced back at least to the Young Avestan period during which were composed Y 19, 20 and 21 which are commentaries on the Ya9ā Ahū Vairiīō, Aṣəm Vohū and Yəṇhe Hātəm prayers, respectively (Hintze 2015: 36).

In addition to the bilingual Avestan-Pahlavi Yasna copies, three other types of the exegetical Yasna manuscripts have been distinguished so far:

a) Sanskrit: The manuscripts include the Avestan text which is accompanied by its Sanskrit translation and commentary.

b) Gujarati: In the manuscripts, the Avestan text and its Gujarati translation are written in Gujarati script.

c) New Persian: In the manuscripts, part or all of the Avestan text of Y 9-11 is translated into New Persian. Some Pahlavi manuscripts like T6, also provide an interlinear New Persian translation of the Avestan and Pahlavi version.<sup>57</sup>

Chronologically, the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta belong to one of the following periods: 1) the Sasanian; 2) the ninth and tenth centuries and 3) the late period (11-19<sup>th</sup> CE). The Pahlavi version of the Vīdēvdād belong to the first group. By contrast, the Pahlavi text of the Yasna shows the morphological features of the Pahlavi language of the ninth century (Cantera 2004: 231-239).<sup>58</sup> However, regarding the Hōm Yašt, Josephson (1997: 164) draws attention to the translation of the Avestan preposition *paiti* which rather than the expected *pad* or *abar* is rendered in Y 9.30-32 by *be*, the common translation of *paiti* in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.<sup>59</sup> Such features stand side by side with the correct Pahlavi translations according to which Josephson (1997: 164) concludes that:

<sup>56</sup> Vištāsp Yašt comprises some quotations from the Vīdēvdād (Kellens 1987: 40).

<sup>57</sup> See Hintze (2012a: 245). For T6 see the website of the Avestan Digital Archive.

<sup>58</sup> In addition to the Vīdēvdād, the Pahlavi versions of the non-liturgical texts of the Hērbadestān and Nērangestan show the features of Sasanian Pahlavi.

<sup>59</sup> Y 9.30 Av. *paiti aṣōiš zairitahe* “against the yellow dragon” vs. Phl. *be az ī zard* “against the yellow dragon”; Y 9.31 *paiti mašīiehe druuatō sāstarš* “against the deceitful tyrant man” vs. Phl. *be mardōm ī druwand ī sāstār* “against the deceitful tyrant man”; Y 9.32 *paiti jahikāiī yātumaitiīī* “against the body of the prostitute full

‘Thus, while the study of the Hōm Yašt does not give a clear answer to the question when the extant translation was made, it suggests that it contains passages representing the work of different translators who lived at different periods. It indicates that there may have been an old Phl. rendering of the Yašt upon which later translators built, but that subsequently there was a steady deterioration of all aspects of the work.’

Josephson’s suggestion also agrees with the history of the Zoroastrian written tradition according to which the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts were written in the late tenth century.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, later features can be the result of later corrections.

It is generally assumed that Sanskrit version was produced based on the Pahlavi Yasna. It has traditionally been attributed to Nēryosangh Dhaval. However, the time of Nēryosangh is not mentioned in the colophons. As a result, scholars have put forward very different estimates about his time. For example, eighth and fifteenth centuries according to Meherjirana (1899: 9-10) and Haug (1884: 55), respectively. While the earliest Zoroastrian Gujarati texts date to the early fifteenth century, the oldest Gujarati manuscript with date at our disposal was completed in 1824 CE.<sup>61</sup> The manuscripts, which include the New Persian translation of the Yasna, are also late as the oldest known manuscript was completed in 1707 CE (Hintze 2012a: 274).<sup>62</sup>

Based on the origin of the manuscripts, they have traditionally been assigned into two groups: 1) Iranian and 2) Indian. Iranian manuscripts were either produced in Iran or copied from an Iranian manuscript in India whereas their Indian counterparts were copied in India from an Indian manuscript (Geldner 1886-1896: xiii-llv).

### 1.5 Previous Research on the Pahlavi Versions of the Avesta

The first comprehensive work on the Avesta was undertaken by N. L. Westergaard (1852-1854) followed by K. Geldner (1886-1896). Westergaard edited the Avesta based on the manuscripts which were brought to Copenhagen in 1820 by Rasmus Rask. Moreover, he collated manuscripts from private collections and various libraries in London, Oxford and Paris. Geldner continued Westergaard’s work and had access to 133 manuscripts which are around five times as many as Westergaard (Hintze 2012b: 420). As regards the Pahlavi

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of sorcery” vs. Phl. *be jeh-ē ī jādūg* “against the body of a prostitute, the sorcer”.

<sup>60</sup> For the completion date of the manuscripts associated with the copy of Hōšang Syāwaxš see Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 40)

<sup>61</sup> See Hintze (2012a: 262-263); Sheffield (2015: 544).

<sup>62</sup> According to my knowledge, no scholarly work has been performed on the features of the New Persian and Gujarati versions of the Avesta.

version of the Avesta, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were divided between two views:<sup>63</sup>

a) the traditional view, represented by J. Darmesteter and F. Spiegel, was that the Avesta can be understood with the assistance of the Pahlavi version. Following this view, Spiegel (1853-1858) published the first edition of the Avesta and Pahlavi versions of the Vīdēvdād (volume I) and Visperad and Yasna (volume II) in which the Pahlavi version is reproduced in the Pahlavi script.<sup>64</sup> L. Mills extensively engaged in translating the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta which were published in a series of articles between 1890-1914.<sup>65</sup> Of his works five are dedicated to the edition of the Pahlavi version of the Hōm Yašt. In 1900, Mills edited the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15, followed by its English translation (Mills 1903c). In three separate articles, he also published the edition (Mills 1902) and English translation (Mills 1903a) of Y 9.16-32 together with the edition of Y 10 (Mills 1903b). One year later, the English translation of the Pahlavi version of Y 11-12 was published (Mills 1904: 495-512). During this period, the Parsi priest and scholar P. Sanjana (1895) also edited the Pahlavi version of the Vīdēvdād (Vd 1-9, 19). An important step forward in the Avestan studies was Bartholomae's (1904) *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* in which the vocabulary of Avestan and Old Persian is given. As regards the Avestan words, their corresponding Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations are also provided in transcription.

b) The followers of the Vedic view, represented by Geldner (1896), pointing out the mistakes in the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta, argue that the etymological approach and comparative studies with the Vedas are the most reliable guide to the Avesta.

The direction of the Avestan studies, during the first half of the twentieth century, was changed by Andreas's theory. According to the Pahlavi book of the Dēnkard, the Arcasid king Valaxš made the first attempts at restoring the Avesta after the Alexander conquest.<sup>66</sup> In agreement with the teaching of the Dēnkard, F. C. Andreas (1902)<sup>67</sup> affirmed the existence of the Arsacid archetype and stated that the Arsacid Avesta was presumably written down in an Aramaic script similar to that of Pahlavi texts. Later, during the Sasanian

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<sup>63</sup> For a comprehensive review on the history of the Avestan studies in the nineteenth century see Cantera (2004: 65-75).

<sup>64</sup> In addition to the Pahlavi version, the Avestan original is given in a separate section. Spiegel also translated the original Avestan of the Vīdēvdād, Visperad and Yasna into German, mainly by considering the indigenous Pahlavi redactions. For Spiegel see Schmitt (2002).

<sup>65</sup> For Mills's works on the Pahlavi version of the Yasna see Cantera (2004: 70, fn. 74); Gropp (1991: 79, fn. 5).

<sup>66</sup> For a discussion on the Dēnkard text see Cantera (2004: 106-113).

<sup>67</sup> Andreas declared his theory at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Hamburg. In the following year, he published it entitled: *Die Entstehung des Awesta-Alphabetes und sein ursprünglicher Lautwert*.

epoch, it was mechanically transposed into the invented Avestan script by ignorant priests. He concluded that a philological approach is the only authentic way to understand the Avesta. For example, he posits that the Avestan letters *e* (𐬥) and *ē* (𐬥̄) are the ligatures of *y-y-w* and in the Arsacid Avesta they were spelled as either *yo* or *yō* or *yu*. He also suggested that there was no real dialectical difference between OAv and YAv with the exception of the lengthening of the final vowels in Old Avestan. Therefore, for example the gen. sg. ending *-hyā* (𐬯𐬵𐬭𐬀) and its vulgate YAv counterpart *-he* (𐬵𐬵𐬀), according to Andreas, represent the original Arcasid *-(a)hya*. As a result, the work on the Pahlavi version of the Avesta was abandoned for about four decades in favour of studies aiming at reconstructing the suggested Arsacid copy.<sup>68</sup>

During this quiet period of Pahlavi studies in the West, Parsi scholars were mainly involved in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta. For example, the first substantial study of the Pahlavi version of Yasna IX is M. Davar (1904). Unvala (1924) edits and translates the Sanskrit version of Y 9-11. However, in his work, the Sanskrit text in transcription is accompanied by its original Avestan and Pahlavi counterparts. T. Anklesaria (1949), gives the first full transcription and English translation of the Vīdēvdād. B. N. Dhabhar (1927 and 1949) edits the entire Pahlavi text of the Xwardag Abestāg and Yasna, respectively. Like Spiegel, in Dhabhar's edition, the Pahlavi texts appear in its respective Pahlavi script. Moreover, he completed his English translation of the Zand of the Xwardag Abestāg which was published posthumously (Dhabhar 1963).<sup>69</sup>

Andreas's theory was refuted in independent studies by H. Bailey (1943), W. B. Henning (1942b) and G. Morgenstierne (1942). Briefly, his assumption of the mechanical transposition of the Avestan texts has been criticised as it ignores the complicated written and oral history of the transmission of the Avesta. Furthermore, on the one hand, it is unlikely to assume that the Avestan script, showing even the slightest nuances of the recitative, is an invention of ignorant priests. On the other hand, the existence of the Arsacid copy is uncertain. Moreover, it is impossible to explain the Avestan vowels *ə* (𐬥), *ē* (𐬥̄), *o* (𐬥̌) *ō* (𐬥̌̄), *u* (𐬥̌), *ū* (𐬥̌̄) by Andreas's theory according to which they are all derived from *w*. Andreas also suggests that *ā* (𐬥̄̄) is the transcription of the Arsacid <'>. However, it is shown that in Pahlavi the *matres lectionis* represent short vowels only in certain occasions. For example, the Pahlavi *a* is only expressed by 𐬀 before <h>.

<sup>68</sup> For Andreas's theory and its counterarguments see Cantera (2004: 76-82); Kellens (1987: 41-42); Schlerath (1985: 27-30).

<sup>69</sup> For a review on the studies on the Pahlavi version of the Avesta by the Parsis see Cantera (2004: 102-104).

In 1970, Hoffmann argues that the extant Avesta is the work of the Sasanian priests and a combination of both traditional and philological methods should be used to understand the Sasanian Avesta. His suggestion was widely accepted among scholars and as a result it led to the revival of the studies on the Pahlavi redactions of the Avesta. The reason is that the Pahlavi version carries important information about the composition history of the Avesta. Moreover, from the lost sections of the Avesta, there are commentaries which only occur in the Pahlavi texts. Therefore, serious academic works on the Pahlavi version of the Avesta gradually started again in the West from the late 1960s onwards. In 1968, G. Klingenschmitt, a student of Hoffmann, finished his doctoral dissertation on the bilingual Avestan-Pahlavi Dictionary, *Frahang ī Oīm*. In 1969, Humbach & Jamaspasa, translated the Avesta and Pahlavi versions of *Vaēθā Nask*. The same scholars, in 1971, edited the bilingual Avestan and Pahlavi *Pursišnīhā*, followed by an English translation. Z. Taraf (1981) supplied the edition of the original Avestan of the *Niyāyišn* together with its Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions, based on the editions of Geldner, Dhabhar and Bharucha, respectively. Her edition is also accompanied by a German translation of the three versions, followed by a commentary. In 1985, Ph. Kreyenbroek edited and translated into English the Avesta and Pahlavi versions of the hymn to *Sraoša* (Y 56, 57; Yt 11) based on the Avestan edition of Geldner and Pahlavi edition of Dhabhar. In 1992, F. M. Kotwal and Ph. Kreyenbroek published their edition of the Avestan and Pahlavi versions of the *Hērbedestān* and *Nērangestan*. In 1997, Josephson studied the Pahlavi translation technique of the Avestan text of the *Hōm Yašt*.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, completing Josephson's observations, A. Cantera (2004) published *Studien zur Pahlav-Übersetzung des Avesta* in which he studies the history and features of the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta. W. Malandra & P. Ichaporia (2010) transcribed the Pahlavi version of the Old Avestan *Gāθās* and *Yasna Haptañhāiti*, based on Dhabhar's edition. The text is followed by a glossary in which is given the Pahlavi words and their translation (Malandra & Ichaporia 2010: 97-184) together with Ichaporia's translation of Y 28 (Malandra & Ichaporia 2010: 271-274). M. Moazami (2014) edited the Pahlavi version of the *Vīdēvdād*, followed by an English translation and a commentary. In the same year, Raffaelli's (2014) edition and English translation of the Avesta and Pahlavi versions of the *Sīh-rōzag* was published. On the Pahlavi version of the *Yasna Haptañhāiti*, A. Zeini (2014, unpublished) edited and translated the text into English based on YIrP Pt4. Recently, G. König's (2016) research results on Yt 3 has been published as a book in which the Pahlavi text of Yt 3 is examined alongside the original Avestan and New Persian version.

As far as the present edition is concerned, according to the literature review, the following works have so far been devoted to the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15:

1) Spiegel's (1858: 29-242) edition of the Pahlavi Yasna, based on the readings of YIndP K5.

2) Mills's edition (1900: 511-528) and English translation (1903c: 313-324) of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15:

Mills (1900: 511-515) collated six books as follows: YIndP Pt4, J2, K5, M1,<sup>70</sup> fragments of the Yasna from Haug's collection, Spiegel's edition and the manuscript 12a whose Pahlavi text is written in the Persian script. In the English translation of the text, short commentaries are also provided in the footnotes.

3) Davar's (1904) edition and English translation of Y 9, based on the collation of mainly two (J2, K5) and occasionally three manuscripts (J2 K5, Mf4).

4) Dhabhar's (1949) edition of the entire Pahlavi Yasna in its respective script, based on four manuscripts; Pt4, Mf4 of the YIrP group and J2, K5 of its YIndP counterpart. Like Mills's edition, short commentaries are given in the footnotes.

5) Josephson's (1997) study on the Pahlavi translation technique of the Avestan original of the Hōm Yašt. In her work, the Avestan original and its corresponding Pahlavi translation are provided together with their corresponding English translations. While the former is based on the edition of Geldner, the Pahlavi translation follows the text of Dhabhar's edition. It should be noted that since the main purpose of the research was to investigate the Pahlavi translation technique, Pahlavi commentaries, with the exception of some short ones, are omitted in her edition.

Among the studies on the Hōm Yašt listed above, the common problem is that a detailed analysis of the history of the copies and the method of textual edition are wanting. Furthermore, new manuscripts are now available that their quality should be studied. Moreover, the old-fashioned transcriptions of the editions of Davar (1904) and Mills (1900) should be replaced by D. N. Mackenzie's (1971) widely accepted system of transcription.

In conclusion, in the present study, the Pahlavi text of Y 9.1-15 is treated as an independent subsection within Y 9. It commences with a dialogue between Zaraθuštra and Haōma when the deity attends Zaraθuštra's worship. Stanzas 3-15 list questions posed by Zaraθuštra to Haōma about who pressed Haōma in the past and which reward was received

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<sup>70</sup> For Pt4, J2, K5, M1 see section 2.1 and 3.1.

for the pressing. Haōma states the names and says that heroic sons were born to them.<sup>71</sup> Although the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15 is generally a calque of the original Avestan, the order of the former is not always determined by its Avestan counterpart. Unlike the Pahlavi translation, the Pahlavi commentaries usually follow the proper Pahlavi syntax. Exceptions could be related to the borrowed Pahlavi translations of Avestan texts which are lost.<sup>72</sup> As for the poetic structure of the Avestan original of the hymn, the octosyllabic metre predominates in the Yašt and the dividing manner of its Zand shows that the Pahlavi exegetes were aware of its metrical structure.<sup>73</sup> Chronologically, the text of the Pahlavi version betrays the features of the ninth-tenth centuries Pahlavi. Nonetheless, Josephson adduces an example of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries Pahlavi which suggests that the text was the subject to some later interpretive activities.<sup>74</sup> The literature review of the past scholarship reveals that during the twentieth century, scholars mainly focused on the edition and study of the Avestan original. As a result, the Zand which shows the understanding of Zoroastrian priests of the Sasanian and early Islamic periods received little attention and even in these studies, an analysis of the transmission of the text is wanting.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, in order to justify conclusions in the present edition, the text is edited following a detailed study of the transmission of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15. Moreover, features of the collated manuscripts such as the geographical typology, date of completion, possible correction and contamination are analysed to evaluate their quality.

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<sup>71</sup> See section 1.

<sup>72</sup> See section 1.1.

<sup>73</sup> See 1.3.

<sup>74</sup> 1.4 See section 1.4.

<sup>75</sup> See section 1.5.



## 2 Description of the Manuscripts

The present edition of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15 is based on the collation of nine manuscripts called Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b, J2, K5 and M1. Of the manuscripts, Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6 and T55b are Iranian whereas J2, K5, M1 belong to the category of the Indian manuscripts. Traditionally, Iranian and Indian Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts are represented by Pt4, Mf4 and J2, K5, respectively.<sup>76</sup> According to their colophons, Pt4 and Mf4 are descendants of a copy written down by Hōšang Syāwaxš in the fifteenth century. After the translation of the colophon of Pt4 by West (1896-1904), the manuscript received a particular attention by scholars because it is believed that the text is about the history of the compilation of the first bilingual Pahlavi manuscript. However, as discussed in section 2.1, the text of the colophons has been interpreted differently by scholars. Furthermore, while the manuscripts Pt4, Mf4 have always been evaluated according to their Avestan original, the quality of their Pahlavi version is unknown.<sup>77</sup> In addition, in the present edition, the manuscripts G14 and T6 are collated. The reason is that although like Pt4 and Mf4, they contain the colophons of Hōšang Syāwaxš, neither their colophon nor their Pahlavi text has so far been studied. Moreover, the Pahlavi text of the Iranian manuscripts F2 and T55b is studied in the present edition, as the former is not a member of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line and the latter is an undated manuscript whose scribe is unknown. Regarding the Indian manuscripts, J2 and K5 are the oldest Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts at our disposal. Furthermore, I collate the readings of another Indian copy namely M1 since it is contemporaneous with Pt4, Mf4 and G14 which were produced in the eighteenth century. Therefore, the relationship between the Pahlavi version of M1 and the two old Indian manuscripts, together with the scribal traditions in the eighteenth century, can be studied.

## 2.1 The Colophons of Hōšang Syāwaxš in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6<sup>78</sup>

Pt4 (fol. 2v-4v), Mf4 (p. 2-8),<sup>79</sup> G14 (fol. 18v-21r) and T6 (fol. fol. 5v-8v) contain an Introduction which includes two colophons on Pt4 (fol. 3v line 1-16), Mf4 (p. 4 line 7-17, p. 5 line 1-6), G14 (fol. 19v line 4-14) and T6 (fol. 6v line 10-13, fol. 7r line 1-8). The first colophon mentions the name of Hōšang Syāwaxš as the scribe of the manuscript that is ancestral to the entire group. While in the colophon, the completion date of the manuscript

<sup>76</sup> In addition to Pt4 and Mf4, YIrPs are also represented by Mf1 (Hoffmann & Narten 1989: 15). However, since Mf1 only has the Avestan text, it is not studied in the present edition.

<sup>77</sup> For a discussion see section 3.1.

<sup>78</sup> Facsimiles of the manuscripts Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b are available on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive. For Mf4 see Jamasp Asa & Nawabi 1976 (2535).

<sup>79</sup> Unlike other manuscripts having folio numbering, in the Mf4 published facsimile, pages are numbered.

of Hōšang Syāwaxš is not stated, such a date is found in the third colophon of Mf4 (p. 599-600) according to which he completed the manuscript in AY 864 (= 1495 CE).<sup>80</sup>

The second colophon provides details about the history of the compilation of the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript. They have been studied by West (1896-1904: 84-85), Dhabhar (1923a: 90-93; Pahlavi text, 114-118; English translation), Tavadia (1944: 321-332) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 31-42).<sup>81</sup> By Interpreting the text differently, scholars have put forward significantly diverging filiations. Moreover, there is no agreement regarding the place of caesura between the two colophons.

Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 35, fn. 2-18) compare the variant readings of the Pt4 and Mf4 colophons and show that the textual divergences between the two manuscripts are minor. By contrast, as mentioned above, the text of colophons in G14 and T6 has so far not been examined. In what follows, the text of the colophon in Pt4 is reproduced while the variant readings of Mf4, G14, T6 are recorded in the footnotes:<sup>82</sup>

- Pt4 fol. 3r line 21) ... *nibišt*  
 fol. 3v line 1) *rāy pad hamuskārišnīh pērōzgar man dēn bandag*<sup>83</sup> *hōšang*  
 2) *syāwaxš šahryār baxtāfrīd šahryār az*<sup>84</sup>  
 3) *paččēn hērbēd mihrābān spanddād mihrābān*<sup>85</sup>  
 4) *ō az paččēn hērbēd*<sup>86</sup> *māhpanāh*<sup>87</sup> *t̄*<sup>88</sup> *āzādmard t̄*<sup>89</sup>  
 5) *panāh ī az kāzerōn rōstāg čiyōn mard*<sup>90</sup> *nēk*  
 6) *abarmāndīg*<sup>91</sup> *pad dēn ud ruwān abēgumān u-š kāmāg*  
 7) *frārōn* *ō*<sup>92</sup> *yazdān wehān rōstahm t̄*<sup>93</sup> *dād ohrmazd*  
 8) *nōgdraxt ī az farrōx būm ī spāhān az rūddašt*  
 9) *rōstāg az waržuk deh abestāg az paččēn-ē*<sup>94</sup>

<sup>80</sup> See the Mf4 description.

<sup>81</sup> West's translation is based on the text of the colophons in Pt4. By contrast, Dhabhar translates the text of the colophons in Mf4. Tavadia provides a detailed description of the Introduction and the colophons of Pt4 and Mf4. However, the original Pahlavi text is wanting in his work. Cantera & de Vaan edit the text based on the colophons in Pt4. They also give the variant readings of Mf4 and manuscript readings of the edited words in the footnotes.

<sup>82</sup> The variant readings of the colophons recorded in the footnote are provided in transcription rather than transliteration. Therefore, insignificant variations such as *nibišt*: Pt4, Mf4, T6 *npšt'* vs. G14 *npšt* are not indicated.

<sup>83</sup> Mf4 writes *hērbēd* after *bandag*.

<sup>84</sup> Mf4 G14 T6: *ōy az* ('L MN)

<sup>85</sup> G14 T6: *kē ābān spēndād kē ābān* (MNW 'p̄'n' sp̄yn'd't (T6: sp'ynd't) MNW 'p̄'n').

<sup>86</sup> T6: *deest*.

<sup>87</sup> Mf4: *māhp* (m'hp).

<sup>88</sup> Mf4: *deest*.

<sup>89</sup> G14 T6: *deest*.

<sup>90</sup> T6: *mard ī* (GBR' Y).

<sup>91</sup> G14: *ud abarmāndīg* (W 'p̄lm 'nykyk).

<sup>92</sup> Mf4 *ud ō* (W 'L).

<sup>93</sup> G14 T6: *deest*.

<sup>94</sup> G14 T6: *deest*.

- 10) *ud zand az paččēn-ē<sup>95</sup> anōšag farrbay srōšayār xwēš*  
 11) *rāy nibišt ēstād jādag<sup>96</sup> anōšag ruwān mäh-*  
 12) *ayār ī<sup>97</sup> farroxzād ī<sup>98</sup> az ham bēšāzwār<sup>99</sup> awestān<sup>100</sup>*  
 13) *az kāzerōn<sup>101</sup> rōstāg anōšag ī man<sup>102</sup> mähwindād ī<sup>103</sup>*  
 14) *narmāhān<sup>104</sup> ī<sup>105</sup> wahrām mihr az ham<sup>106</sup> paččēn paččēn-ē<sup>107</sup> az*  
 15) *xwāyīšn ī pērōzgar abunās<sup>108</sup> mardšād ī šābuhr*  
 16) *az<sup>109</sup> farrox būm ī<sup>110</sup> šīrāz*

The colophons text as interpreted in the present edition is as follows:<sup>111</sup>

- 1) For similar deliberation, I, victorious servant of the religion, Hōšang
- 2) Syāwaxš Šahryār Bakhtāfrīd Šahryār, wrote (= *nibišt* fol. 3r line 21) it from
- 3) the copy of Hērbed Mihrābān Spanddād Mihrābān (and)
- 4) that<sup>1</sup> from the copy of Hērbed Māhpanāh son of Āzādmard,
- 5) protector<sup>2</sup> of the region of Kāzerōn like a good
- 6) heir (?), without doubt about religion and soul and with an honest desire
- 7) for the good gods. Rōstahm, son of Dād-Ohrmazd
- 8) Nōgdraxt<sup>3</sup> from the blessed land of Spāhān from the Rūd-Dasht (?)
- 9) region from the town of Waržuk (?), the Avesta from a copy
- 10) and Zand from another copy<sup>4</sup> for the possession of the immortal Farrbay Srōšayār<sup>5</sup>
- 11) had written<sup>6</sup> for the sake of<sup>7</sup> the immortal souled Māh-
- 12) ayār son of Farroxzād from the same salubrious<sup>8</sup> district
- 13) from the region of Kāzerōn, (and) I<sup>9</sup>, the immortal Māhwindād son of
- 14) Narmāhan Wahrām Mihr. From the same copy, (I wrote) a copy
- 15) at the request of the victorious Abunās<sup>10</sup> Mardshād<sup>10</sup> son of Šāhpuhr
- 16) from the blessed city Šīrāz.

<sup>95</sup> G14 T6: deest.

<sup>96</sup> G14: *jādag ud (j' tk w)*.

<sup>97</sup> G14 T6: deest.

<sup>98</sup> G14 T6: deest.

<sup>99</sup> G15 *bīšāpur (byš' pwl)*; T6: *nēšāpuhr (nyš' pwhl)*.

<sup>100</sup> T6: *xujst 'n (xwjst 'n')*: The reading *x* is shown by the diacritic dot above 𐬭. As discussed in the present section, *xujestān* is the corrected variant of *awestān*.

<sup>101</sup> G14: *kābuhl (k' pwhl)*; T6: 𐬕𐬀𐬭𐬀. In the New Persian version, it is rendered by *kābol* (کابل).

<sup>102</sup> G14 T6: *az (MN)*.

<sup>103</sup> G14 T6: deest.

<sup>104</sup> G14 T6: *rumāhān? (lm' h' n')*.

<sup>105</sup> Mf4: deest.

<sup>106</sup> G14 T6: deest.

<sup>107</sup> G14 T6: deest.

<sup>108</sup> G14 T6: *ābānsar ( 'p' n' 'sl)*.

<sup>109</sup> Mf4: *ī az*.

<sup>110</sup> G14: deest.

<sup>111</sup> My translation builds on that of Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 36-37) and Tavadia (1944: 325). However, wherever my translation is very different from that of other editions, it is discussed in the commentary.

### 1) Line 4 *ō* “that”

Phl. *ō* in the manuscripts is spelled as ‘*L* “to”. However, as a preposition its occurrence before *az* “from” is semantically problematic. Therefore, with Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 35, fn. 5) it has been taken as a corrupt form of *ōy* (*LH*) “that” in the present edition.

### 2) Line 5 *panāh* “protector”

By interpreting *panāh* “protector” as the short form of the personal name [*māh*]*panāh*, Tavadia (1944: 325) reads line 4-5 *hērbēd māhpanāh ī āzādmard ī panāh* as *hērbēd māhpanāh ī āzādmard ī [māh]panāh* “Hērbēd Māhpanāh son of Āzādmard son of [Māh]panāh”. He mentions that the grandsons are sometimes named after their grandfathers. However, his interpretation is entirely hypothetical and it is not supported by any of the manuscripts readings.

### 3) Line 7-8 *rōstahm ī dād ohrmazd nōgdraxt* “Rōstahm, son of Dād-Ohrmazd Nōgdraxt”

Through the addition of ‘son of’ (line 7) in brackets before Rōstahm son of Dād-Ohrmazd Nōgdraxt, Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 36) mention that he was the father of Māhpanāh Āzādmard, described as line 5 *panāh ī az kāzerōn rōstāg* “the protector of the region of Kāzerōn”. Slightly different form Cantera & de Vaan, *panāh ī az kāzerōn rōstāg* ... “the protector of the region of Kāzerōn...” is associated with Rōstahm, son of Dād-Ohrmazd Nōgdraxt through the insertion of ‘who was’ and ‘viz.’ in brackets before Rōstahm, by West and Dhabhar, respectively:

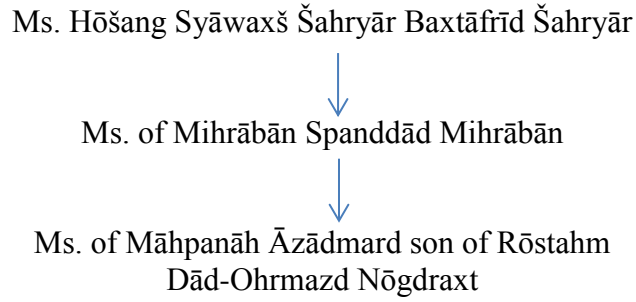
“Māhpanāh son of Āzādmard, son of the protector of ... (who was), Rōstahm, Dād-Ohrmazd” (West 1986-1904: 85).

“Māhpanāh son of Āzādmard, (son) of the protector of ... viz., Rōstahm, Dād-Ohrmazd” (Dhabhar 1923a: 115).

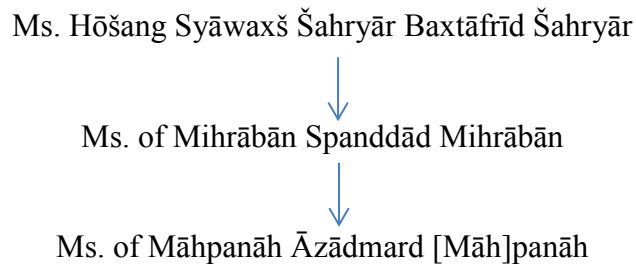
While Dhabhar writes ‘son’ in brackets, West probably interprets that the second *ī* (line 4) in *māhpanāh ī āzādmard ī panāh* expresses the possessive relationship between Māhpanāh Āzādmard and Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd.

Tavadia (1944: 325) suggests that Rōstahm, son of Dād-Ohrmazd Nōgdrakht belongs to the second colophon. According to his interpretation, Rōstahm wrote the first bilingual manuscript. Therefore, as regards the first colophon, the two following filiations have so far been suggested by scholars:

1) The model of West, Dhabhar and Cantera & de Vaan:<sup>112</sup>



2) The model of Tavadia:



In contrast to the interpretations of West, Dhabhar and Cantera & de Vaan, Tavadia's suggestion is entirely based on the manuscript readings and no hypothetical words are incorporated into his translation to relate Māhpanāh to Dād-Ohrmazd. Tavadia's suggestion is also supported by considering the meaning of *xwēš rāy* and the verb *nibišt ēstād* as discussed below.

**4) Line 9-10** *abestāg az paččēn-ē ud zand az paččēn-ē* “the Avesta from a copy and Zand from another copy”

Regarding the Pahlavi sign 𐬨 after *abestāg az paččēn* and *zand az paččēn*, West (1986-1904: 84-85), Dhabhar (1923a: 115) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 36) take it as the indefinite article *ē* and translate the phrase as “Avesta from one copy and Zand from another<sup>113</sup> copy”. Dhabhar (1923a: 115) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 36) assume that the name(s) of the scribe(s) of the two separate Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts is unmentioned. By contrast, West (1896-1904: 85), interprets that *abestāg az paččēn ē* “Avesta from one copy” and *zand az paččēn ē* “Zand from another copy” were the

<sup>112</sup> The filiation of Geldner (1886-1896: xxxiv) agrees with the interpretation of West.

<sup>113</sup> Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 36) translate the second *ē* as one(ther) rather than another.

productions of Māhayār Farroxxād and of Māhwindād Narmāhān Wahrām Mihr(ābān), respectively:

“the Avesta from one copy and the Zand from another copy (which were) the production of the glorified Māhayār son of Farroxxād, from the same salubrious place of the district Kāzerōn, (and of) me, the immortal Māhwindād son of Wahrām.”<sup>114</sup>

Although, West transcribes the Pahlavi sign 𐭥 as *ē* rather than the *ezāfa ī* “of”, he associates the manuscripts with their suggested scribes by adding ‘which were’ hypothetically in the brackets. Later, Dhabhar (1949: 7) takes side with West by mentioning in the introduction of his *Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad* that ‘Farrbay wrote his manuscript from two separate copies, 1) the Avesta text from the manuscript of Māhayār Farroxxād and 2) the Pahlavi text from the manuscript of Māhwindād Narmāhan Wahrām Mihr[ābān]’. By contrast, Tavadia (1944: 325) reads the Pahlavi sign 𐭥 as the *ezāfa ī* “of”:

(Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd) “had written for himself the Avesta from the copy of the Blessed Dādag Māhyār Farrōxxād ... and the Zand from the copy of the blessed Farrbay Srōšayār.”<sup>115</sup>

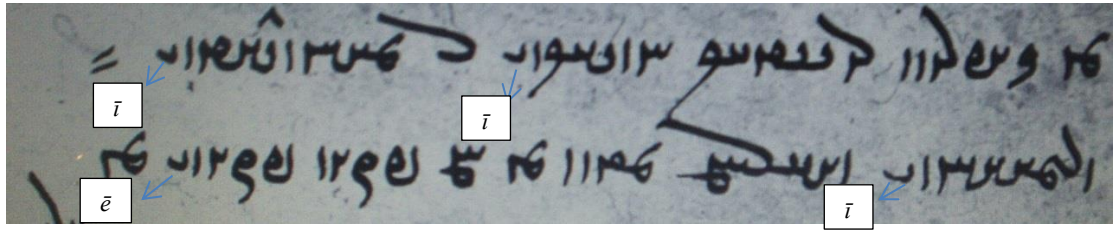
Tavadia (1944: 330) suggests that the scribe probably forgot to write *dādag*<sup>116</sup> *māhayār farroxxād* after *abestāg az paččēn ī*. Therefore, he wrote the name of the scribe in margin. Later, the second scribe misplaced it after *nibišt ēstād*. It is obvious that Tavadia’s suggestion is entirely hypothetical. As far as the transcription of the Pahlavi sign 𐭥 as the indefinite article *ē* or the *ezāfa ī* is concerned, it is impossible to draw a decisive conclusion according to the Pt4, Mf4 palaeography. The reason is that in their colophons, the manuscripts do not differentiate between *ē* and *ī*, for example *ē* in *paččēn-ē* (fol. 3v line 14) and *ī* in *anōšag ī* (fol. 3v line 13), *māhwindād ī* (fol. 3v line 13) and *narmāhān ī* (fol. 3v line 14):

<sup>114</sup> Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 37-38) write that West ‘concludes that Franbay son of Srōšyār had copied the manuscript from one Avestan and one Zand copy, both produced by Māhayār son of Farrōkhzād’. Their interpretation of West’s translation is according to his insertion of (which were) in brackets (line 11). However, their suggestion is incorrect because Cantera and de Vaan do not consider that West also adds (and of) before “me, the immortal Māhwindād son of Narmāhan” in brackets (line 13). Later in the same article, they mention that West assumed Māhayār Farrokhzād and Māhwindād Narmāhān Wahrām Mihr[ābān] as the scribes and Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts, respectively (Cantera & de Vaan 2005: 39).

<sup>115</sup> My translation from German.

<sup>116</sup> Tavadia reads *jādag* “for the sake of” as the first member of the proper noun *dādag anōšag ruwān māhayār farroxxād*. See my commentary to *jādag*.

Figure 1. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 3v line 13-14).

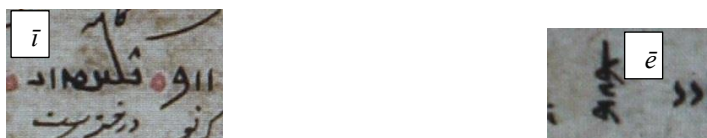


By contrast, the Pahlavi sign 𐭥 after *abestāg az paččēn* and *zand az paččēn* is omitted in G14 (fol. 19v line 10) and T6 (fol. 7r line 3-4). According to the variant readings of Y 9.1-15, collated in text-critical apparatus, and those of the colophon provided in the footnote above, G14 and T6 sometimes delete the *ezāfa ī*. For example, in line 4, 7, 12, 13 and 16 of the colophon. Regarding the palaeographical feature of *ē*, *paččēn-ē* (line 14) is deleted in the colophon of G14 (fol. 19v line 13) and T6 (fol. 7r line 7) after *ham paččēn*. Therefore, its palaeographical feature in the colophon of G14 and T6 cannot be studied. However, in Y 9.1 (line 28), while *ē(w)* “one” is written by 𐭥 in Pt4 (54v line 5), Mf4 (p.146 line 17), it is represented by 𐭥 in G14 (fol. 52v line 10), T6 (fol. 43v line 12). In Y 9.2, the indefinite article *ē* is also given in the margin of the manuscripts G14 and T6<sup>117</sup> and like Y 9.1, its palaeography is similar to that of *ī*:

Figure 2. Left: An example of the palaeography of *ī* in the colophon of G14 (fol. 19v line 9); right: An example of the palaeography of *ē* in G14 (Y 9.2 fol. 53r).



Figure 3. Left: An example of the palaeography of *ī* in the colophon of T6 (fol. 7r line 2); right: An example of the palaeography of *ē* in Y 9.2 T6 (fol. 44r).



Therefore, the evidence from G14 and T6 favours the reading *ī* because while the *ezāfa* is often omitted in their texts, in the two occasions in Y 9.1, 2, *ē(w)* is written. However, the texts of G14, T6 are not as reliable as those of Pt4, Mf4 because as discussed below, they have possibly been corrected by their scribes. Furthermore, the reading the Pahlavi sign 𐭥 as

<sup>117</sup> The commentary including *ē* is absent in Pt4, M4.



the *ezafā ī* is problematic because the names of their related scribes occurs several words after *abestāg az paččēn ī ud zand az paččēn ī*. In conclusion, considering the grammar of the Pahlavi language, *ē* is considered as the correct reading of the Pahlavi sign 𐭥 in the present edition.

**5) Line 10-11** *anōšag farrbay srōšayār xwēš rāy* “for the possession of the immortal Farrbay Srōšayār”

Phl. *farr* (*pln*) in *farrbay* is transcribed as *farnbay* in the mentioned scholarly works. However, based on the *rn > rr* development, *pln* has been taken as a historical writing and it is transcribed as *farr* in the present edition.

Regarding *xwēš rāy*, Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 38) show that meaning “for the possession of”, it usually indicates the addressee or patron of the copy in the texts. Therefore, they translate *anōšag farrbay srōšayār xwēš rāy* as “for the possession of the immortal Farrbay, son of Srōšayār”. By contrast, West (1896-1904: 85) and Dhabhar (1923a: 115) had considered Farrbay son of Srōšayār as the scribe of the first bilingual manuscript by translating lines 9-11 *abestāg az paččēn-ē anōšag farrbay srōšayāryār xwēš rāy nibišt ēstād* as follows:

“The immortal Farrbay son of Srōšyār had written a copy for himself, the Avesta from one copy and the Zand from another copy.” (West 1896-1904: 85).

“The immortal Farrbay Srōšayār had himself written a copy, the Avesta from one copy and the Zand from another copy.” (Dhabhar 1923a: 115).

While Dhabhar translates *xwēš rāy* as “himself”, West renders it as “for himself”. Likewise, Tavadia (1944: 325) translates *xwēš rāy* as “for himself”. However, he associates it with the Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd (line 7) who is the scribe of the first bilingual manuscript according to his interpretation:

Rōstahm (son of) Dād-Ohrmazd (son of) Nōgdrakht ... had written for himself the Avesta from the copy of the ... and the Zand from the copy of ...<sup>118</sup>

Regarding the translation of *xwēš rāy*, that of Cantera and de Vaan is based on the meaning of the expression in parallel examples. As a result, Farrbay Srōšayār cannot be the

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<sup>118</sup> My translation from German.

scribe who produced the first bilingual manuscript as suggested by West and Dhabhar. Moreover, Dhabhar's translation as "himself" does not render *rāy*.

**6) Line 11** *nibišt ēstād* "had written"

Regarding the translation of the verb *nibišt ēstād*, except for Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 36), other scholars translate it as active. Moreover, Cantera and de Vaan consider Māhayār Farroxxād as the first scribe of the bilingual manuscript:

"The Avesta has been written from one copy and the Zand from one (other) copy for the possession of the immortal Farrbay, son of Srōšayār, as a production (?) of the immortal Māhayār, son of Farroxxād, from the same salubrious district from the region of Kāzerōn."

However, as discussed below, *jādag* is rendered as "for the sake of" in the present edition because its translation as "as a production of, the production of" is problematic. Therefore, while Māhayār Farroxxād cannot be taken as the scribe of the first bilingual manuscript, only remains one candidate who is Rōstahm Dād Ohrmazd (line 7). With this interpretation, he is the subject of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. past perfect *nibišt ēstād* in the ergative construction.<sup>119</sup> The evidence also agrees with Tavadia's interpretation. It should be noted that while Cantera & de Vaan discuss the translations of West and Dhabhar, they do not examine Tavadia's translation. The only problem with the present interpretation is that since two words, or *abestāg ... zand*, are the objects of the sentence, the form *nibišt ēstād hēnd* is expected. However, the text is late and it is possible to find New Persian-like constructions.<sup>120</sup> It is also corroborated by the defective texts of the colophons of Hōšang Syāwaxš in which, as discussed below, the influences of New Persian are noticeable.

**7) Line 11** *jādag* "for the sake of"

The reading and translation of 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀 preceding *anōšag ruwān māhayār ī farroxxād* is debated among scholars. While West (1896-1904: 84-85) and Dhabhar (1923a: 115, fn. 6) read *d'tk* "production" and *j'tk* "for the sake of, for the preserving of the memory of", respectively, Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 38) mentioning that the form *d'tk* is unknown,

<sup>119</sup> For Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd see commentary 3) Line 7-8 *rōstahm ī dād ohrmazd nōgdraxt*.


<sup>120</sup> For examples of the change of the ergative constructions to their accusative counterparts in Pahlavi under the influence of New Persian see Skjærvø (2009a: 228).

choose the spelling *j'tk* and the translation “production”. However, none of the scholars examine the problematic word in detail. By contrast, Tavadia (1944: 329-330) studies the word in Pahlavi and New Persian. He shows that in the Zoroastrian New Persian texts, *jāda* denotes “for the sake of” especially in association with deceased ones. Furthermore, he points out that *jādagīh* in the third Pahlavi colophon of Mf4 has been translated as “for the sake of”. He also compares the word with the Pahlavi legal terms such as *jādag-gōw* “intercessor”.<sup>121</sup> However, at the end, reading *dādag*, he interprets it as the first member of the proper name Dādag Māhayār Farroxxād. As a proper noun, although Phl. *jādagīh* or *dādagīh* may occur in IrBd. 35A.8 *ud man farrbay xwānēnd dādagīh ī ašawahišt* “and I Farrbay whom they call Dādagīh son of Ašawahišt”, the form *dādag* has no parallel in the Pahlavi and Zoroastrian New Persian literature. By contrast, by translating *jādag* as “for the sake of (a deceased person)” the sequence of *xwēš rāy nibišt ēstād jādag* makes sense. The reason is that *xwēš rāy*, indicating the addressee or patron of the manuscript, is preceded by *farrbay srōšayāryār* carrying the epithet *anōšag*. By contrast, *jādag* is followed by *māhayār farroxxād* which is described as *anōšag ruwān*. Therefore, it implies that the scribe wrote the manuscript for the possession of the *anōšag* “immortal (= living)” Farrbay Srōšayār and for the sake of the *anōšag ruwān* “immortal souled (= deceased)” Māhayār Farroxxād.

#### 8) Line 12 *bēšāzwār* “salubrious”

The Pahlavi  in *az ham*  occurs in the following context:

- 11) *jādag anōšag ruwān māh-*
- 12) *ayār ī farroxxād ī az ham bēšāzwār* (Tavadia: *wehšāpuhr*) *awestān*
- 13) *az kāzerōn rōstāg*
- 11) for the sake of the immortal souled Māh-
- 12) ayār son of Farroxxād from the same salubrious (Tavadia: Wehšāpuhr) district
- 13) from the region of Kāzerōn,

Tavadia (1944: 325) reads  as *wehšāpuhr*, the other pronunciation of “the city Bīšāpuhr”. However, the preceding *ham* “same” casts doubt on Tavadia’s interpretation as the name of the city Bīšāpuhr is previously unattested to need the anaphor *ham* “the same”.

#### 9) Line 13 *man* “I”

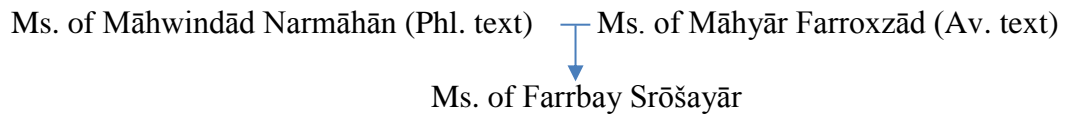
<sup>121</sup> See the section on T6 description

The Pahlavi sign 𐭮 precedes *māhwindād ī narmāhān ī wahrām mihr*. Dhabhar (1923a: 116) regards *L (man)* “I” as a corrupt form or an abbreviation of *lwb ’n (ruwān)* “soul” which in combination with *anōšag* means “immortal souled”. By contrast, Tavadia (1944: 325) leaves 𐭮 untranslated. Regarding the reading of 𐭮, the interpretation of Dhabhar who takes it as the abbreviated form of *ruwān* is entirely hypothetical. Furthermore, there is no parallel example of such an abbreviation as far as I know. Therefore, 𐭮 is transcribed as *man* “I” in the present edition.

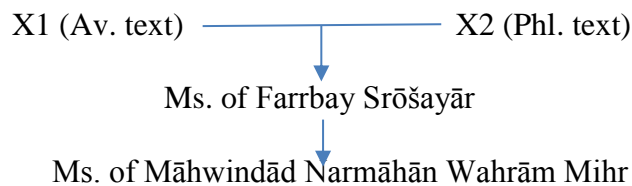
#### 10) Line 15 *mardšād* “Mardšād”

All of the collated manuscripts obviously spell *š ’t’ (šād)*.<sup>122</sup> Although Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 35-36) transliterate it correctly, they transcribe the word as *šāh*. However, they do not explain the reason for their correction of *šād* to *šāh*.

As regards the filiation of the second colophon, according to West (1896-1904: 85), Farrbay Srōšayār produced the first bilingual copy:<sup>123</sup>



Likewise, Dhabhar (1923a) takes Farrbay Srōšayār as the first producer of the bilingual manuscript:<sup>124</sup>



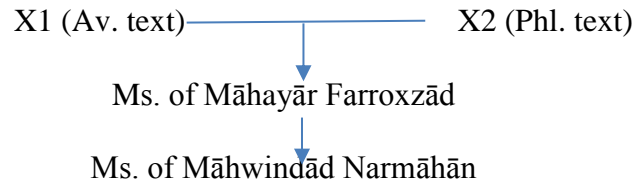
However as mentioned above, the meaning of *xwēš rāy* preceding Farrbay Srōšayār casts doubt on their interpretation. Furthermore, the translation of *jādag* as “the production of” through which West considers Māhayār Farroxxād and Māhwindād Narmāhān as the copyists of the separate Avestan and Pahlavi texts is entirely hypothetical and not based on the evidence from the Pahlavi language.

<sup>122</sup> See Pt4 (fol. 3v line 15), Mf4 (p. 5 line 5), G14 (fol. 19v line 14), T6 (fol. 7r line 8).

<sup>123</sup> West does not draw the filiation of the colophon but Geldner’s (1896: Prolegomena xxxiv) genealogical tree is based on the translation of West.

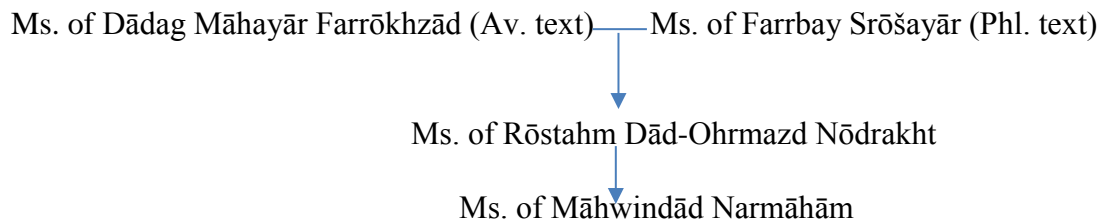
<sup>124</sup> Dhabhar does not draw a genealogical tree and the filiation is drawn by me according to his translation.

According to Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 37-8) the first colophon, showing the usual regressive chronology, is written by Hōšang Syāwaxš Šahryār Baxtāfrīd. By contrast, the second colophon, starting from *abestāg az paččēn-ē ud zand az paččēn-ē*, is written by Māhwindād son of Narmāhān son of Wahrām Mihr whose name occurs in the middle of the second colophon (line 13-14):<sup>125</sup>



However, as discussed above, the rendering of *jādag* as “as a production of” is problematic. Furthermore, Tavadia’s suggestion is left undiscussed in their article.

Different from the proposal of West, Dhabhar and Cantera & de Vaan, Tavadia (1944: 332) considers Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd Nōdrakht and Māhwindād Narmāhām as the first producer and copyist of the bilingual manuscripts, respectively:



As mentioned before, the evidence supports Tavadia’s suggestion that the first bilingual manuscript was a production of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd Nōdrakht. However, Tavadia’s interpretations of *dādag* and *xwēš rāy* are problematic. With Tavadia’s suggestion, Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd and Māhwindād Narmāhān are interpreted as the first and second scribes of the bilingual Pahlavi texts in the present edition. By contrast, as regards the scribes of the Avestan and Pahlavi texts, it seems that their names are left unmentioned because as stated above, the Pahlavi sign 𐭥 should be read as the indefinite article *ē* rather than the *ezāfa ī*. Therefore, the following filiation is suggested in the present edition:

<sup>125</sup> For the filiation see Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 40).



Bīšāpu(h)r”. Furthermore, in the same line, *k’clwn* “Kāzerōn” is spelled as *k’puhl* “Kabul” in G14:

G14 (fol. 19v line 12). *az ham bīšāpuhr awestān az kābul rōstāg*

(Māhayār Farroxxād comes) from same Bīšāpuhr place of the district Kābul”.

The phrase seems to be corrected in G14 because Bīšāpuhr, located in the modern Iranian Fārs province and Kābul in the modern Afghanistan are not geographically related together. Moreover, with the reading *bīšāpuhr*, the occurrence of the preceding *ham* “same” then, would be inexplicable as Bīšāpuhr has not been mentioned previously in the text.

In T6, which provides the interlinear New Persian translation of the colophon text, more cities are identified with those in eastern Iran:

Hērbed Māhpanāh Āzādmard: T6 (fol. 6v line 13) 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 “Kāzerōn” (In the New Persian version کابل “Kabul”).


Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd: Spāhān.

Māhayār Farrōkhzād: T6 (fol. 7r line 6) **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**? (In the New Persian version کابل “Kābul”).

Moreover, *ham bešāzwār awestān* (هم به سوار آوستان) “the same salubrious region (of)” in Pt4 Mf4 appears in T6 (fol. 7r line 6) as *ham nēšāpur xujestān* (هم نیشاپور خجستان)<sup>127</sup> “the same Nēšāpur Xujestān”. Likewise, it is translated in the interlinear New Persian version as *ham nēšāpur xujestān* (هم نیشاپور خوجستان), both of which, *nēšāpur* and *xujestān*, are located in Khorasan.<sup>128</sup>

Like G14, the text of T6 seems to be subject to the re-interpretation according to scribe's mindset.<sup>129</sup> The reason is that in fol. 6v line 13, the word in the Pahlavi version is spelled apparently as *k'clwn* (*kāzerōn*) while in the New Persian version کابل "Kabul" is given. Furthermore in fol. 7r line 6 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩? "Kābul?" is probably the corrected variant of the original 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩. As mentioned before, *nēšāpur xujestān* (𐭠𐭮𐭱𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭲𐭬𐭭𐭪𐭯𐭮𐭭), is the variant reading of 𐭠𐭮𐭱𐭠𐭮𐭫𐭲𐭬𐭭𐭪𐭯𐭮𐭭. However, it is a misreading because the name *nēšāpur xujestān*



127  (The reading *x* in *xujestān* is shown by one diacritic dot above **خ**. Three diacritical dots are placed above **ط** to indicate *ṣ*).

<sup>128</sup> See *Ln.* Vol. VI, 8381; Vol. XIV, 20290-20291.

<sup>129</sup> G14 and T6 are closely related. See T6 description.

“Nēšāpur Xujestān” does not occur before to need the anaphor *ham* “the same”. In G14 (fol. 19v line 5-6), T6 (fol. 6v line 12), the name of the famous scribe *mihrābān spanddād* (or *spandyād* in YIndP J2, K5) *mihrāban* is also written as *kē ābān spendāt kē ābān* “who is Ābān Spandāt who is Ābān”:

Pt4 fol. 3v line 1) ... *pērōzgar man dēn bandag hōšang*

2) *syāwaxš šahryār baxtāfrīd šahryār az*

3) *paččēn hērbad mihrābān spanddād mihrābān* (G14 T6: *kē ābān spendāt kē ābān*)

1) “I, victorious servant of the religion, Hōšang

2) Syāwaxš Shahryār Bakhtāfrīd Shahryār, (wrote it) from

3) the copy of hērbad Mihrābān Spanddāt Mihrāban (G14 T6: who is Ābān Spendāt who is Ābān).

In conclusion, the evidence suggests that the meaning of the colophons was even unclear in 1780 and 1842 CE when G14 and T6 were completed by Indian priests who were the descendants of the famous Māhayār Rāna, namely Kāwūs son of Suhrāb son of Rōstam and Suhrāb son of Frāmarz son of Suhrāb, respectively.<sup>130</sup> Compared to G14, T6, the colophons in Pt4 and Mf4 are less corrupt. However, although G14 is contemporaneous with Pt4 and Mf4, it is unclear whether or not the latter ones were also written down by Indian scribes.

## 2.2 The Manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna

a) Pt4: The manuscript has 283 folios, measuring  $33.93 \times 20.6$  cm and written 21 lines per page. The completion of the manuscript is dated around 1780 CE according to the family tradition of Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana (Hintze 2012a: 253). Mills (1893: 519) mentions that:

‘According to its introduction, page 2, we gather that D (or Pt4) were written down in 1780 by Dastoor Kavasji Sobraji Mihirji-rāna.’

Assuming that Mills’s Sobraji is the typo for Sorabji, Dastoor Kavasji Sorabji Mihirji-rāna, the scribe of Pt4, is probably the father of Sohrābji son of Kāušji Sohrābji Meherjirāna who copied F2 (completed in 1814 CE). It is exciting because as discussed in section 3.1, while Pt4 is corrected, F2 shows the traces of contamination. However, unlike Mills’s report, in the introduction of Pt4, the name of Kavasji Sorabji Mihirji-rāna does not occur.

<sup>130</sup> See sections on G14 and T6 description.



b) Mf4: The manuscript has 357 folios<sup>131</sup> and it was copied shortly after 1780 CE. The folios are 28 × 18.3 cm, written 17 lines to page. (Hintze 2012a: 254). In addition to the common colophons with Pt4, G14, T6 written by Hōšang Syāwaxš as discussed in section 2.1, Mf4 has another colophon which was produced by the same scribe. It was transcribed and translated by Dhabhar (1923a:117-118) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 40-41):

Mf4 (p. 599 line 6) *yašt zand tamām šud andar farrōxīg ud pērōzīg andar*

7) *rōz ī wād ī hudāhag māh amurdāt pērōzgar sāl ī*

8) *864 pas az yazdgird šāhān*

9) *šāh man dēn bandag hōšang syāwaxš šahryār ī*

10) *baxtāfrīd šahryār ī wahrām ī husraw šāhag*

11) *anōšagruwān nibišt ud frāz hišt xwēš ī*

12) *xwēš rāy ud frazandān xwēš rāy har kē*

13) *xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb paččēn az-iš*<sup>132</sup>

14) *kunād jādagīh ī man nibištār pad patet bawēd*

15) *tā-šān awiš afrīn kardārtar bēm nē ahlawdād*

16) *kē-š nām ī man u-š awestarēd ka-š*

17) *awestarēd u-š hamēmāl ham pad*

Mf4 p. 600 line 1) *dādwar ī dādār ī ohrmazd*

2) *be dānad har kē ōy hušyār bāšad zi bahr ī mēnovān dar kār bāšad*

6) The Zand Yasna was<sup>133</sup> completed in prosperity and victory on

7) the day of the beneficent Wād, the month of the victorious Amurdad, the year

8) 864 after Yazdgird, King of

9) Kings, I, the servant of the religion, Hōšang Syāwaxš Šahryār son of

10) Baxtāfrīd Šahryār son of Wahrām son of Husraw-Šāhag

11) Anōšagruwān wrote<sup>134</sup> and published it for my

12) own possession and for that of my offspring. Everyone who

13) reads it or teaches it or makes a copy of it,

14) will be in Repentance for the sake of me, the writer,

15) so that I may perform blessing to them. No(t worthy of) charity

16) (is) he who stains my name, when he

17) stains (it) I shall be his adversary before

Mf4 p. 600 line 1) the judge, the creator Ohrmazd.<sup>135</sup>

2) Everyone who is conscious knows (that) he should work for the sake of spiritual beings.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Jamasp Asa & Nawabi 1976 (2535) who published the Mf4 facsimile in 2 volumes give page numbers (vol. 1, p. 2-400; vol 2, p. 401-720) rather than folio numbers.

<sup>132</sup> Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 41) read 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 as *u-š* “and it”. However, the context suggests that it should be read *az-iš* meaning “of/from it” as correctly appears in their translation.

<sup>133</sup> The use of *šudan* originally meaning “to go” as an auxiliary verb in Pahlavi is late (Nyberg 1974: 188). Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 41) translate *šud* as “is”. However, the past tense auxiliary verb is translated as “was” in the present study.

<sup>134</sup> Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 41) translate the simple past *nibišt* as “have written”.

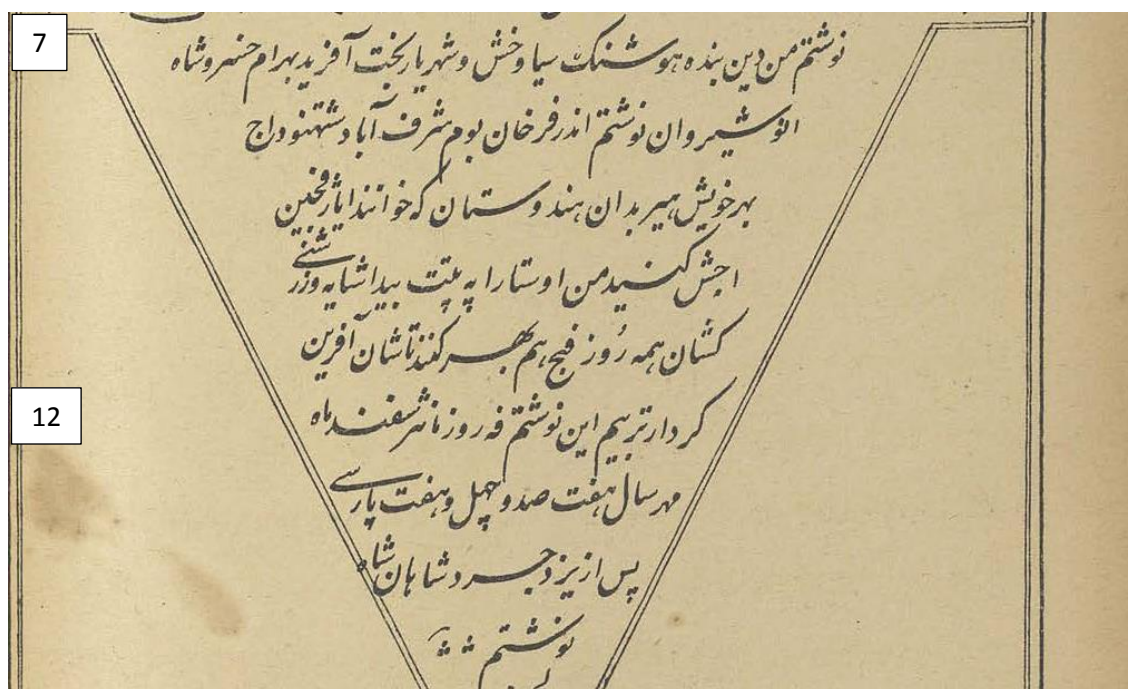
<sup>135</sup> The translation is after Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 41).

<sup>136</sup> My translation.

As discussed in section 2.1, the colophon shows the influence of New Persian. Furthermore, the closing text in p. 600 line 2 is a poem in New Persian which is absent in the translations of Dhabhar (1923a: 118) and Cantera & de Vaan (2005: 41).

There is also a New Persian colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš in DHR according to which he completed his Pāzand text in 747 Pārsī:

Figure 4. Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat, p. 368.



DHR 368 line 7) *nivištam man dēn banda hōšang syāvaxš u šahryār baxtāfrīd bahrām xusraw šāh*

8) *anōšīrvān nivištam andar farroxān būm ī šarafābād ....*

12) *ēn nivištam fa rōz-ī mānsaresfand māh*

13) *mihr sāl haftsad-u čihil-u haft ī pārsī*

14) *pas az yazdjird šāhān šāh*

15) *nivištam*

7) I, the servant of the religion Hōšang Syāvaxš and? Šahryār Baxtāfrīd Bahrām Xusraw Šāh

8) Anōšīrvān wrote. I wrote in the blessed land of Šarafābād ... .

12) I wrote this on the day of Mansaresfand, the month

13) Mihr, the year seven hundred and forty-seven Pārsī,

14) after Yazdjird, King of Kings.

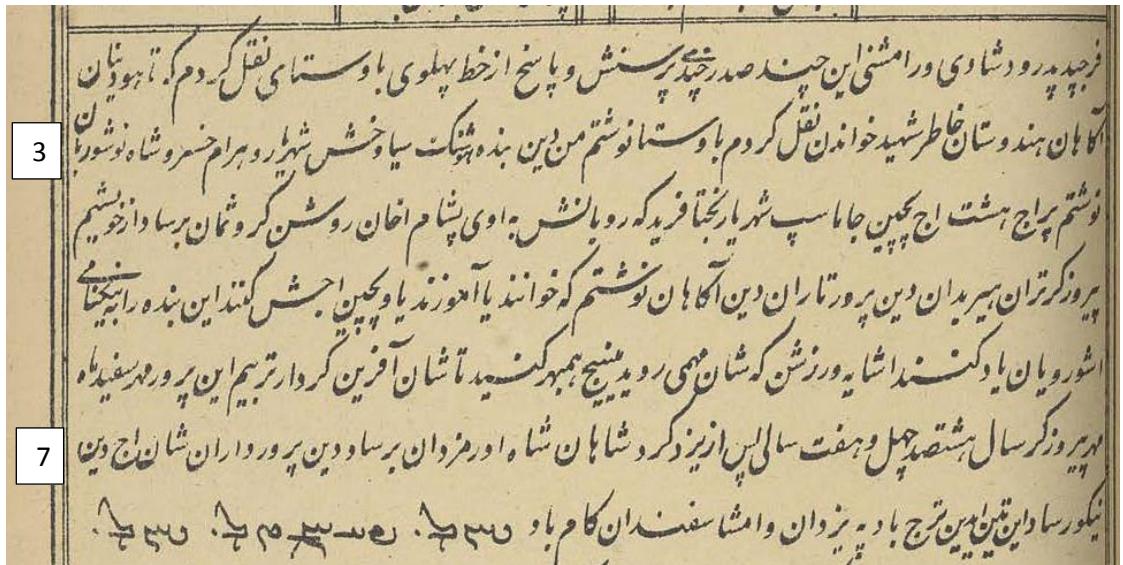
15) I wrote.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>137</sup> My translation.

The comparison between the two colophons, written down by a single scribe, shows that there is a difference of 97 years between the completion date of Mf4 in AY 864 and that of the Pāzand text in 747 Pārsī (= AY 767).

However, in DHR 371, there is another colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš according to which he completed a Pāzand text in AY 847:

Figure 5. Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat, p. 371.



Line 3) ... *man dēn banda hōšang syāwaxš šahryār vahrām xusrav šāh nōšīrbān*

4) *nivištam* ...

7) *mihr pērōzgar sāl haštsad-u čihil-u haft sālī pas az yazdgird šāhān šāh ōrmazdān*

3) ... I, the servant of the religion, Hōšang Syāwaxš Šahryār Vahrām Xusrav Šāh Nōšīrabān

4) wrote ... (in the month of)

7) victorious Mihr, the year eight hundred forty-seven years after Yazdgird, King of Kings, son of Ōrmazd...<sup>138</sup>

In addition, there are colophons which were produced by Šāpur Jāmāsb. For example:

DHR 372.

... نوشتم من دین بنده شاپور

جاماسب شهریار بخت آفرین شهریار بهرام نوشیروان ...

نوشتم اندر روز

خورداد ماه مهر و سال هشتصد و چهل و هفت یزدگردی شهریار اندر مقام شرفاباد...

line 6) ... *nivištam man dēn banda šāpur*

7) *jāmāsb šahryār baxtāfrīn šahryār bahrām nōšīrvān* ...

9) *nivištam anadr rōz*

10) *xurdād mihr māj qadīm-u sāl haštsad-u čihil-u haft yazdgirdī šahryār andar maqām*

<sup>138</sup> My translation.

*šaraḥābād ...*

- 6) ... I, the servant of the religion Šāpur
- 7) Jāmāsb Šahryār Baxtāfrīn Šahryār Bahrām Nōšīrvān wrote ...
- 9) I wrote on the old day
- 1) Xurdād, month Mihr and year eight hundred forty-seven Yazdgirdī, the king, in the place of Šaraḥābād ...<sup>139</sup>

It seems that like Hōšang Syāwaxš, Šāpur Jāmāsb is also a grandson of Šahryār Baxtāfrīn (or Baxtāfrīd) Bahrām (or Vahrām). Therefore, Hōšang Syāwaxš should be contemporaneous with Šāpur Jāmāsb. According to DHR 372, the completion date of Šāpur's text (AY 847) agrees with that of T6 (AY 864) and DHR 371 (AY 847). As a result, the date 747 Pārsī should be a mistake. Moreover, in T6 (p. 599 line 10-11), DHR (368 line 7) and DHR (371 line 3), Hōšang's genealogy goes back to Xusraw Šāh Anōšīrvān. It is replaced by Nōšīrvān in Jāmāsb's colophon (DHR 372 line 7). Since *šāh* is not attested alone as a proper name, therefore, Phl. *anōšagruwān*/NP. *nōšīrvān* "of immortal soul" is probably the epithet of *xusraw šāh* "king Xusraw" and the family claimed to be descendants of the Sasanian king Xusraw I (r. 531-579 CE) who carried the epithet Phl. *anōšagruwān* > NP. *nōšīrvān* after his name. Finally, in T6, -ag in line 10 *husraw šāhag* is to be regarded as the suffix with affective connotations.<sup>140</sup>

c) G14: The size of folios is 30.2 × 21.8 cm. The manuscript was completed in AY 1149 (1780 CE) and it is related to the family of Hōšang Syāwaxš. G14 has the Avestan text and Pahlavi version of Sīrōza (folios 1v-16r) and Yasna (folios 17v-198r) (Hintze 2012a: 253-254).<sup>141</sup> In addition to the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš Šahryār which was discussed in section 2.1, the scribe of G14 also adds his colophon as follows:

- G14 fol. 21r line 6) *ēn daftar fradom andar hindūgān dastōr kāwūs*
- 7) *pus dastōr suhrāb pus dastōr rōstam pus dastōr mānak*
- 8) *pus mihrnōš az pušt ī māhayār rānān andar kasabak ī nōgsārīg*
- 9) *andar rōz hordād ud māh ī farrōx frawardīn sāl abar 114-*
- 10) *9 yazdgirdīg šāhān šāh ī ohrmazdān nibišt ēstād kē*
- 11) *abar ō ōy nibēsēd xub frazām kāmag hanjām bawād pad*
- 12) *yazdān ayarīh*

<sup>139</sup> My translation.

<sup>140</sup> For the usage of the suffix -ag with affective connotations see Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 157, §297).

<sup>141</sup> According to the folio numbering of the website of the Avestan Digital Archive, the Sīrōza appears in fols. 2v-17r and the Yasna section starts from fol. 18v. So far, Y 0.1-9.32 have been uploaded onto <http://avesta-archive.com/> (Accessed online on 31/03/2017). Collating the manuscript readings from the published facsimile on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive, I follow its folio numbering in the present edition.

- 6) This manuscript first (was written) in India. The priest Kāwus
- 7) son of the priest Suhrāb son of the priest Rōstam son of the priest Mānak
- 8) son of Mihrnōš a descendant of Māhayār Rāna had written (it) in the town of Nawsārī
- 9) on the day Hordād and the blessed month Frawardīn, the year 114-
- 10) 9 of Yazdgird, King of Kings, descendant of Ohrmazd. Who
- 11) writes for the sake of him (scribe), may he be of good fortune (and) successful through
- 12) the assistance of the Yazds.<sup>142</sup>

d) F2: The manuscript provides Avestan and Pahlavi texts, accompanied by the interlinear New Persian translation, in 2 volumes (volume 1: Folios 1-116 and volume 2: Folios 117-268). The folios are 29.8 × 23.5 cm and are written 15 lines to page. The scribe is Dastōr Sohrābji Meherji Rāna who copied it in Samvat 1870 (= 1814 CE) (Hintze 2012a: 254). The vol. 1, which includes Y 9, has two colophons in Gujarati as follows:

Colophon 1. Fol. 1r. line 1) *āe pahl[avi] sāth[ni] ijaśne-nu daftar peh-lu samvat 1870*  
 2) *na sālma roj 10 mäh 1 la. dastur [so]hrābji kaus*  
 3) *ji bin sohrābji meherjirānā-e potāne vaste*  
 4) *lakhine śampurna kidhu che ane e daftar dastur era*  
 5) *cji surābji meherjirānā-nu che ae upar koino chāpo*  
 6) *nathi*

- 1) This register of Yasna with Pahlavi (was completed) in first Samvat year 1870
- 2) on day 10 month 1. The scribe priest Sohrābji Kāuš-
- 3) ji son of Sohrābji Meherjirāna has written for himself
- 4) and finished it. And this register belongs to priest Era-
- 5-6) cji Sohrābji Meherjirāna. There is no stamp of anyone on it [i.e. no one else has a right on it].<sup>143</sup>

Colophon 2. Fol. 116v. line 1) *āe pahlevi sāthni ijaśninu daftar pehla dastu(r) sohrā-*  
 2) *bji kā[uš]ji bin dastur so[hrā]bji meherji[rāna-e] po*  
 3) *tāne vāste samvat 1870 nā varśma roj 10 mah 1 lakhi*  
 4) *ne tamām kidhu-che ane ae daftar eracji sohrā*  
 5) *bji meherjirānā-nu che*

- 1) This register of Yasna with Pahlavi, 1<sup>st</sup> priest Sohrā-
- 2) bji Kāušji son of Dastur Sohrābji Meherjirānā
- 3) has written for himself. In Samvat year 1870 on day 10 month 1
- 4-5) he has finished and this register belongs to priest Eracji Sohrābji Meherjirānā.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>142</sup> My translation.

<sup>143</sup> I would like to thank my colleague Kerman Daruwalla for transcribing and translating the Gujarati colophon.

<sup>144</sup> I would like to thank my colleague Kerman Daruwalla for transcribing and translating the Gujarati colophon.



According to the colophon of the second volume, it was also completed by the same scribe on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> month of 1879 Samvat (Dhabhar 1923b: 1, no. 2). As discussed in section 3.1, although F2 is an Iranian manuscript, it is contaminated *i.e.* it has readings that are typical of YIndPs.

e) T6: Like F2, the New Persian translations of the Avestan original and its Pahlavi version appear beneath the lines of the main text. T6 has 299 folios, measuring 30.2 × 24.1 cm. Moreover, the folios are written 13 lines to page (Hintze 2012a: 254). As discussed in section 2.1, the colophons of Hōšang Sīyāvaxš Šahryār Baxtāfarīd Šahryār is also present in T6. In addition, T6 has two colophons in New Persian and Gujarati:

T6 fol. 295v:

این کتاب ایزشنه بروز مبارک اردی بهشت امشاسپند و ماه مبارک سفندارمد امشاسپند سنه 1211  
یکهزار و یازده یزدجردی کاتب الحروف کمترین موبد سهراب ابن دستور فرامرز ابن دستور سهراب  
ابن دستور رستم از نسل دستوران دستور ماهیار رانه

5) *ēn kitāb ī ēzišna be rōz ī mubārak ī urdibahišt amšāspand-u māh ī mubārak  
sfandārmad amšāspand sana-yī 1211*

6) *yak-hazār-u yāzdah ī yazdjirdī kātib al-horuf kamtarēn mōbed suhrāb ibn dastōr  
frāmarz ibn dastōr suhrāb*

7) *ibn dastōr rōstam az nasl ī dastōrān dastōr māhayār rāna*

5) This book of the Yasna (was completed) on the blessed day of Urdibahišt Amšāspand and the blessed month Sfindārmad Amšāspand, the year of 1211,

6) one thousand and eleven of Yazdgird. The scribe [lit. the writer of the words] (is) the least priest Suhrāb son of the priest Frāmarz son of the priest Suhrāb

7) son of the priest Rōstam from the generation of Priest of Priests, Māhayār Rāna.<sup>145</sup>

The New Persian colophon is peculiar as the completion dates, written in numbers (1211) and in words (one thousand and eleven), show a difference of 200 years. However, the completion date in the Gujarati colophon concurs with that written in numbers in its New Persian counterpart, or AY 1211:

T6 fol. 1r line 1) *ijašne (avesta Pehlevi), pehlevima kriya sāthe ane farsi*

2) *tarjuma sāthe hošang šyavakš-na asal lekh uparthe nakal*

3) *sane 1149 yazdgerdi dastur kāvasji sorābji meherjirānā-e*

4) *navsari-ma eni ?<sup>146</sup> nakal hati te uparthe sane 1211 yazdgerdi*

5) *dastur sorābji framji meherjirānā-e lakhi aapi che*

<sup>145</sup> My translation. The colophon has also been transcribed by Andrés-Toledo, published on <http://avesta-archive.com/colofones/view/14>. However, he omits the date written in words and transcribes *sana* and *nasl* mistakenly as *sar?* and *sun?*, respectively.

<sup>146</sup> A word is illegible.

- 1) The Yasna (Avesta-Pahlavi) with Pahlavi ritual instructions and with Persian
- 2) translation. From Hošang Šyāvaks's written original, a copy
- 3) in the year 1149 of Yazdgerd by Dastur Kāvusji Sorābji Meherjirāna
- 4) was copied in Navsari. From that one in the year 1211 of Yazdgerd
- 5) Dastur Sorābji Frāmji Meherjirāna has written and given as a gift.<sup>147</sup>

According to the Gujarati colophon, T6 is a direct descendant of G14. The data of the text-critical apparatus of the present edition also show the close relationship between G14-T6.

f) T55b: The copy has two incomplete versions: Avestan-Sanskrit and Avestan-Pahlavi. The manuscript has 144 folios and the folios 58r-113v offer the Avestan original and Pahlavi translation of Y 7.19-Y13.8.<sup>148</sup> It measures 28.4 × 19.8 cm and the folios are written 15 lines per page (Hintze 2012a: 258). This is the only collated manuscript in the present edition without colophon. T55b was regarded as a YIndP manuscript.<sup>149</sup> However, in my unpublished MA dissertation (Khanizadeh 2013: 27-33), it was suggested that it belongs to the group of YIrPs. Independently and almost at the same time in September 2013, the website of the Avestan Digital Archive also moved T55b from the category of YIndP manuscripts and placed it under that of YIrP.

### 2.3 The Manuscripts of the Indian Pahlavi Yasna<sup>150</sup>

a) J2: The manuscript J2 measures ca. 27 × 22 cm. It was written in AY 692 (= 1323 CE) in the city of Cambay by Mihrābān Kayhusraw in response to the request of the merchant Čāhil Sangan. The manuscript has 385 folios, written 15 lines to page. (Hintze 2012a: 255). The colophon appearing in fol. 383v of the manuscript is as follows:

- J2 fol. 383v line 3) *wahman māh frawrdīn rōz sāl ī 692*  
 4) *yazdgirdīg man dēn bandag hērbēd zāt mihrābān*  
 5) *ī kayhusraw mihrābān ī spandyār mihrābān marzb[ān]*  
 6) *hērbēd nibišt pad yazdān kāmāg bād*

<sup>147</sup> I would like to thank my colleague Kerman Daruwalla for transcribing and translating the Gujarati colophon.

<sup>148</sup> The folio numbering of the website of the Avesta Digital Archive is different from Dhabhar (1923b: 129) and Hintze (2012a: 258) according to whom the Pahlavi Yasna appears in fols. 89-144. Collating the manuscript readings from the published facsimile on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive, I follow its folio numbering in the present edition.

<sup>149</sup> See Dhabhar (1923b: 129); Hintze (2012a: 258).

<sup>150</sup> Facsimiles of the manuscripts J2, K5 and M1 are available on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive. J2 and K5 had also been published by Mills (1893) and Barr (1937), respectively.

- 7) *wahīzag kē man dēn bandag be būm hindūgān mad ham andar*  
 8) *sāl 692 yazdgirdīg man dēn bandag hērbēd zād*  
 9) *mihrābān ī kayhusraw ī mihrābān ī spandyād ī mihrābān ī*  
 10) *marzbān hērbēd nibišt az bahr čāhilag sangan ud čāhil ī wahm[an]*  
 11) *bahrām kambaytīg nibišt xwāstār ham az xwand[ārān]*  
 12) *ēn nibēg kē abar xwānīhēd čāhil rāy pad anōšag ruwān arzānī[g]*  
 13) *dārēd čāhil az xwēš uzēnag pad-iš kard man nibištār ham az bah[r]*  
 14) *ruwān an[ō]šag ruwān čāhil sangan ud az bahr ruwān pidar xwad*  
 15) *kū-š wahišt bahr ī anōšag jāwēdān ruwān garōdmānīg bād*
- 3) Day Wahman, month Frawardīn, year 692  
 4) of Yazdgird, I, the servant of the religion, Hērbēd-born Mihrābān  
 5) son of Kayhusraw Mihrābān son of Spandyār Mihrābān Marzbān  
 6) Hērbēd wrote. May it be according to the will of Yazds<sup>151</sup>.  
 7) It was in the movable month that, I, the servant of the religion, came to the land of Indians. In  
 8) the year 692 of Yazdgird, I, the servant of the religion Hērbēd-born  
 9) Mihrābān son of Kayhusraw son of Mihrābān son of Spandyād son of Mihrābān son of  
 10) Marzbān Hērbēd wrote (the manuscript) for the sake of Čāhil Sangan and Čāhil Son of Wahman  
 11) Bahrām of Cambay. I am a requester to the readers,  
 12) this manuscript which is read, (the reader) should consider Čāhil worthy (of a prayer for his) immortality of the soul.  
 13) Čāhil defrayed the expenses for it from his own (wealth). I am the writer for the sake of  
 14) the soul of the immortal souled Čāhil Sangan and for the sake of (my) own father  
 15) so that heaven may be the share of his immortal eternal Garōdmānic soul.<sup>152</sup>

In line 6, as far as selection between *bawād* and *bād* with *w* absorption, is concerned,<sup>153</sup> it is impossible to decide according to its spelling by the heterogram *YHWWN-’t*. However, the reading *bād* is favoured in the present edition because in line 15, the subjunctive verb is spelled as *b’t’*.

In line 7, the preposition *be*, showing direction, in *be būm hindūgān mad* “came to the land of Indians” is borrowed from New Persian.<sup>154</sup> It should be noted that the text of the lines 11-15 of the colophon of J2 agree with that of the lines 2-6 of the second colophon of K5 fol. 327v:

<sup>151</sup> Unvala (1940: 121) translates *yazdān*, the plural of *yazd*, as the singular “god”.

<sup>152</sup> The translation is after Unvala (1940: 121). He translates the simple past *nibišt* (line 6), *mad* (line 7) and *nibišt* (line 10) as “have written”, “have come” and “have written”, respectively.

<sup>153</sup> For *baw-/b-* see Sims-Williams (1989: 259).

<sup>154</sup> The expected preposition in Pahlavi is *ō*. For the preposition *be* in New Persian see Windfuhr & Perry (2009: 441).



J2 (fol. 383v)	K5 (fol. 327v)
11) ... <i>xwāstār ham az xwand[ārān]</i>	2) ... <i>xwāstār ham az xwāndārān</i>
12) <i>ēn nibēg kē abar xwānīhēd čāhil rāy pad anōšag ruwān arzānī[g]</i>	3) <i>ēn nibēg abar xwānīhēd čāhil rāy pad anōšag ruwān</i>
13) <i>dārēd čāhil az xwēš uzēnag pad-iš kard man nibištār ham az bah[r]</i>	4) <i>arzānīg dārēd čāhil az nibištān uzēnag pad-iš kard man nibištār</i>
14) <i>ruwān an[ō]šag ruwān čāhil sangan ud az bahr ruwān pidar xwad</i>	5) <i>ham az bahr ruwān ōy anōšag ruwān čāhil sangan az bahr</i>
15) <i>kū-š wahišt bahr ī anōšag jāwēdān ruwān garōdmānīg bād</i>	6) <i>ruwān pidar ī xwēš kū-š wahišt bahr anōšag</i>
	7) <i>jāwēdān ruwān garōdmānīg bawād</i>

In line 11, *whl'm* is transcribed as *bahrām* in the present edition instead of *wahrām* usually given in the transcriptions of the classic Pahlavi texts. The pronunciation of *b* and the development of *w > b* are confirmed by the colophon of J2 sister manuscript, or K5, in which the word is spelled as *b'hl'm* (fol. 326v line 3, fol. 327v line 12, 13).

In line 12, *kē* is edited to *ka* “when” by Unvala (1940: 121, fn. 3). However, the phrase *ēn nibēg kē xwānīhēd* “this manuscript which is read” is semantically meaningful and does not need any edition. Regarding *xwānīhēd* (*KLYTWN-yh-γf*)<sup>155</sup> in line 12, Unvala (1940: 121), reading *xwānīhand*, translates it as active “(they) recite” which is not a proper translation of the verb with the passive suffix *-īh*.<sup>156</sup> Moreover, the occurrence of *rāy* as the postposition marking direct objects in *čāhil rāy pad anōšag ruwān arzānī[g] dārēd* shows the influence of New Persian.<sup>157</sup>

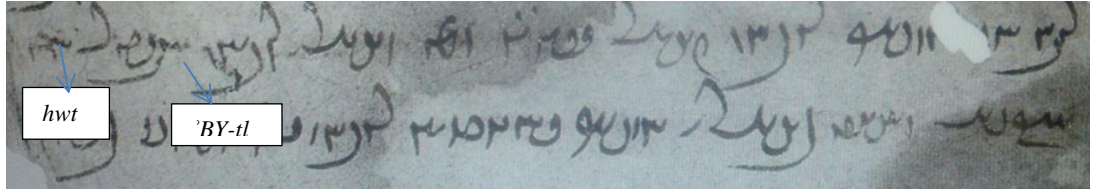
As regards line 14 *pidar xwad*, Unvala (1940: 121) edits *pidarān [ī xwad]* “(my) own forefather”. In the manuscript, however, the text appears as below:

<sup>155</sup> The spelling of the verb is similar to that in the recurring text attested in K5. See the K5 description, colophon 2 Figure 7.

<sup>156</sup> For the passive construction see Durkin-Meisterernst (2013: 229, §467).

<sup>157</sup> For *rāy* see Skjærvø (2009a: 233); Windfuhr (2009: 33-34); Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 354, §753).

Figure 6. YIndP J2 (fol. 383v line 14-15).



As it is shown, unlike Unvala's edition adding *xwad* in the brackets, *hwt* (*xwad*) occurs in the manuscript although the last letter, representing *t*, is very pale. Furthermore, Unvala's suggestion of the plural *pidarān* is unlikely because the spelling *'BY-tl hwt* (*pidar xwad*) "(my) own father" is also corroborated by the parallel text in K5 (fol. 327v line 6) spelling *'BY-tl Y NPŠH* (*pidar ī xwēš*).

In line 15, Unvala (1940: 121) translates *kū-š wahišt bahr ī anōšag jāwēdān ruwān garōdmānīg bād* as "that they (in manuscript sg.) may be the participants of heaven (and) always having their soul in the Garōdmān." However, not only there is no evidence to confirm that the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg enclitic pronoun *-š*, occurring after *pidar* "father", replaces the plural *-šān* but also in the colophon 1 of K5 (fol. 326v line 11), written by the same scribe, the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl *-šān* is correctly attested in *u-šān ruwān* "their soul". It shows that the scribe distinguished the difference between *-š* and *-šān*. Unvala's translation of *-š* as "they" is probably based on his interpretation of *pidarān* as a plural noun. Moreover, translating *garōdmānīg* as "in Garōdmān" (= *andar garōdmān*) is incorrect because the local preposition *andar* "in" is absent in the text and Phl. *garōdmānīg* is an adjective rather than a noun. Therefore, in the present study, *garōdmānīg* is translated as "Garōdmānic".

b) K5: The manuscript K5 measures 27.3 × 22.2 cm and it has 328 folios of which the first folio is missing. Folios 1-91 have 17 lines per page while folios 92-327 have 15 lines to the page (except folio 188 which has 16 lines). Like J2, the manuscript K5 was copied by Mihrābān Kayhusraw for Čāhil (Hintze 2012a: 255). The manuscript has three colophons; two in Pahlavi and one in Sanskrit as follows:

Colophon 1, fol. 326v line 1) *rōz āsmān māh day wahīzag kē man dēn bandag hērbēd zād*

2) *mihrābān ī kayhusraw ī mihrābān ī spandyād ī mihrābān ī*

3) *marzbān ī bahrām dazūk rōstāg čiyōn pahlomagān mard*

4) *stāyīšn xwābar az ahlāyīh ahlawdom az yazdān ān*

5) *ī meh ohrmazd abar stāyīšn xwānam kū-š az ān*

- 6) *ī wēš stāyišn abar kunam wahīzag abar sāl ī 6*
- 7) *92 yazdgirdīg šāhān šāh ohrmazdān man dēn bandag ī*
- 8) *mihrābān kē mad ham andar hindūstān šahrestān kāmbyat*
- 9) *ēn kurāsk az dast hērbēd rōstahm mihrābān nibišt*
- 10) *az xwānīdārān ēn nibēg xwāyišnīg ham kē amāh rāy*
- 11) *pas widard pad patet ayād dārēnd u-šān ruwān*
- 12) *garōdmānīg bād*

- 1) Day Āsmān, the movable month Day. I, the servant of the religion, Hērbēd-born
- 2) Mihrābān son of Kayhusraw son of Mihrābān son of Spandyād son of Mihrābān son of
- 3) Marzbān son of Bahrām (of the) village Dazūk, like the best man, recite
- 4) the praise of the beneficent, the most righteous in righteousness among Yazds, the
- 5) great Ohrmazd. That means: From the
- 6) many praises, I perform (a praise) to him. In the movable month, in the year 6-
- 7) 92 of Yazdgird, King of Kings, the descendant of Ohrmazd, I, the servant of the religion,
- 8) Mihrābān, who came to the Indian city of Cambay,
- 9) wrote this book from the hand written of Hērbēd Rōstahm Mihrābān.
- 10) I desire from those who read this manuscript that
- 11) they should remember us in the Repentance after (our) passing away. And their soul
- 12) may be Garōdmānic.<sup>158</sup>

Unlike J2, in K5 Mihrābān Kayhusraw mentions his source, or the manuscript of Rōstahm Mihrābān. In line 9, the word *kurāsk* “book” is comparable with the Aramaic loan word in Parthian *kulāst* “miscellany, collection”.<sup>159</sup> In line 10, the expected *kū* “that” is replaced by *kē* “who”. The replacement could be due to the scribal confusion between Phl. *kē* and NP. *ka/ke* (𐭪𐭫) “that”.<sup>160</sup> Moreover, the phrase *kē amāh rāy pas widard pad patet ayād dārēnd* “that they should remember us in the Penitentiary prayer after (our) passing away” (line 10-11) shows the influence of New Persian because of the direct object postposition *rāy*.<sup>161</sup>

- Colophon 2, fol. 327v line 1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud rāmišn frazāmēnīd ēn kurāsk az bahr*
- 2) *čāhīl sangan kambāytīg nibišt xwāstār ham az xwānīdārān*
  - 3) *ēn nibēg abar xwānīhēd čāhīl rāy pad anōšag ruwān*
  - 4) *arzānīg dārēd čāhīl az xwēš<sup>162</sup> uzēnag pad-iš kard man nibištār*

<sup>158</sup> The translation is after Unvala (1940: 129). He translates the simple past *mad* (line 8) and *nibišt* (line 9) as “am come” and “have written”, respectively. He also translates *garōdmānīg bād* as “may reside in the Garōdmān”. For a discussion on the translation of *garōdmānīg* see the section on J2 description.

<sup>159</sup> See Durkin-Meisterernst (2013: 92-93). I would like to thank Leon Goldman who drew my attention to Durkin-Meisterernst’s article when I was working on the etymology of *kurāsk*.

<sup>160</sup> The pronunciation of *a* and *e* is dialectal (Windfuhr & Perry (2009: 429).

<sup>161</sup> For *rāy* see Skjærvø (2009a: 233); Windfuhr (2009: 33-34); Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 354, §753).

<sup>162</sup> In the manuscript, it is spelled as *npštn*. However, Unvala (1940: 130, fn. 6) suggests convincingly that

- 5) *ham az bahr ruwān ōy anōšag ruwān čāhil sangan az bahr*
- 6) *ruwān pidar ī xwēš kū-š wahišt bahr anōšag*
- 7) *jāwēdān ruwān garōdmānīg bād*
- 8) *rōznāmag be nibēsam az bahr čāhil kambāytīg niyāgānān*
- 9) *har kē ēn kitāb xwānēd dārēd dāšt ōyšān ahlaw kun[ēd]*
- 10) *māh amurdāt rōz frawardīn sangan čāhil rōzag*
- 11) *māh day rōz frawardīn čāhil wahman ād[ur]<sup>163</sup> rōzag*
- 12) *ādur māh frawardīn rōz wahman bahrām rōzag*
- 13) *ādur māh frawardīn rōz bahrām adur čāhil rōzag*
- 14) *māh tīr rōz anagrān dārag čāhil rōzag*
- 15) *māh day ādur mālān<sup>164</sup> sangan rōzag*

- 1) Completed in welfare and joy and pleasure. It is completed. This book was written<sup>165</sup> for
- 2) Čāhil Sangān of Cambay. I am a requester to the readers,
- 3-4) this manuscript which is read, (the reader) may consider Čāhil worthy (of a prayer for) immortality of the soul. Čāhil defrayed the expenses for it from his own (wealth). I
- 5) am the scribe (of this manuscript) for the sake of the immortal souled Čāhil Sangān (and) for the sake of
- 6) the soul of my father that he may be a partaker of heaven, (may he be) immortal,
- 7) his soul (may be) immortal (and) Garōdmānic.
- 8) I write down the register of the days (of deaths) for the sake of Čāhil of Cambay (and) ancestors.
- 9) Everybody who reads, keeps (or) kept this book, he may be made righteous.
- 10) Month Amurdāt, day Frawardīn, anniversary of Sangān Čāhil.
- 11) Month Day, day Frawardīn, anniversary of Čāhil Bahman Ādur.
- 12) Month Ādur, day Frawardīn, anniversary of Bahman Bahrām.
- 13) Moth Ādur, day Frawardīn, anniversary of Bahrām Ādur Čāhil.
- 14) Month Tīr, day Anagrān, anniversary of Dārag Čāhil.
- 15) Month Day, day Ādur, anniversary of Mālān Sangān.<sup>166</sup>

Unvala (1940: 130) reads the passive *xwānīhēd* (line 3) “was read” as the active *xwānand* “(they) read”<sup>167</sup> but in the manuscript the verb is clearly written as *xwānīhēd* (*KLYTWN-yh-yt*):

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since *npštn* (*nibištan*) “to write” is semantically meaningless in the context of the colophon, it should be edited to *NPŠH* (*xwēš*) “own”.

<sup>163</sup> The reading *ādur* is uncertain because while in the manuscript, 't' is only written, it is also crossed out by a horizontal line.

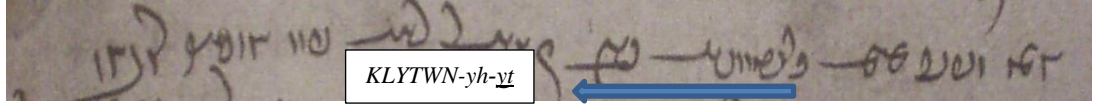
<sup>164</sup> It is written with the Avestan letters for *ā* and *ə*.

<sup>165</sup> Unvala (1940: 130) translates the simple past *nibišt* in the passive sense as “is written”.

<sup>166</sup> The translation is after Unvala (1940: 130-131).

<sup>167</sup> Unvala is not consistent in transcribing the Pahlavi verb as in J2 he reads the same spelling as *xwānīhand* “they recite”.

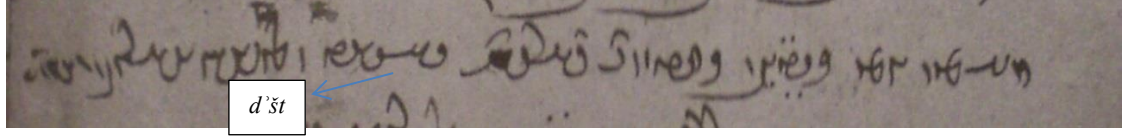
Figure 7. YIndP K5 (fol. 326v line 3).



In addition, in line 3, the direct object postposition *rāy* shows the influence of New Persian. Furthermore, in line 7, Unvala (1940: 130) translates the adj. *garōdmānīg* as “in Garōdmān”, rather than “Garōdmānic” in the present edition.<sup>168</sup>

In line 9, Unvala (1940: 130) reads *har kē ēn kitāb xwānēd dārēd ayād ī ōyšān ahlaw kun[ēd]* “Everybody who reads or keeps this book should render their memory pious”. The text of K5 in line 9, however, appears as follows:

Figure 8. YIndP K5 (fol. 326v line 9).



While Unvala’s reading *ayād* “memory”, spelled as *'byd't* in Pahlavi, is unlikely, the word is to be read as *d'st* (*dāšt*) “held”. With the latter interpretation, *dāšt* is the last verb in a series of verbs whose subject and object are *har kē* “Everybody” and *ēn kitāb* “this book”, respectively. Moreover, the Arabic loanword in New Persian, or *kitāb* “register, book”, is another example, alongside the object postposition *rāy* (line 3), confirming the influence of New Persian.

In fol. 328r lines 1-12 appears the Sanskrit colophon which has been transcribed and translated by Goldman (2018: 5) as follows:

- K5 fol. 328r line 1) *saṃvat 1379 varṣe mārṅga śudī 8 budhe pāsī*
- 2) *saṃ 692 varṣe māha dai roja āsmān adhyeha*
- 3) *stambhatīrthe sulatāna śrī gayāsaddīne rājyaṃ paripaṃ*
- 4) *thayatītyevaṃ kāle erāñjamīdeśāt sāma*
- 5) *yāta pārasijñātīya ācārya kaiṣusravasuta*
- 6) *acāryamihiravānasya bahutaraṃ mānaṃ kāgalaṃ*
- 7) *likhāpanaṃca pradāya pārasī vyava sāmgaṇasuta*
- 8) *vyava cāhileṇa puṇyārthaṃ etasya pārśvāt idaṃ*
- 9) *pustakaṃ likhāpitam | īyasniyaṃdanāmā | yaḥ ko*
- 10) *pi pustakamidaṃ rakṣati | paṭhati tena vyava cāhi*
- 11) *lasya pūrvajānāṃ muktātmanām tathā etasya nimi*

<sup>168</sup> Lines 2-7 are repeated in J2. For a discussion see the J2 description.

12) *ttam puṇyaṃ karanīyaṃ* ॥

[Copied] in the year Saṃvat 1379 on Wednes[day], the 8<sup>th</sup> of the bright half of the month in the month of Mārga[śirṣa], in the Parsi year 692, the month Dai, the day Asmān, here today in Stambhatīrtha (= Cambay) at the time when Sultān Śrī Gayāsādīn is exercising his royal authority. Thus, the trader Cahil, son of the trader Saṃgan, a Persian, having sent a letter (written with) the greatest respect and a perquisite for writing, caused this manuscript, namely the īyasna (=Yasna) with its jaṃda (=Zand), to be copied \*at his own expense (?) for merit's sake by Ācārya Mihravan, son of Ācārya Kaikhusrava, belonging to the Persian community and coming from the land of Iran.

Whoever protects [and] recites this manuscript, so on account of him merit is to be accrued by the trader Cahil [and] his liberated ancestors.

c) M1: The manuscript contains Y 0.6-72.5 and it is a descendant of K5. It also measures 17 × 11.5 cm and has 768 folios, written 13 lines to page by two hands. The second hand commences from folio 697v (Hintze 2012a: 256). The Pahlavi colophon, written by the scribe called Kāwus son of Frēdōn in AY 1103 (=1734 CE), is attested in folios 765r to 768v as follows:<sup>169</sup>

M1 fol. 765r line 5) *pad nām ī dādā[r]*

6) *ohrmazd*

7) *frazaft pad drōd ud šād-*

8) *īh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn-*

9) *īh pad nēk dahišnīh*

Fol. 765v line 1) *xūb murwāg abestāg*

2) *yazišnīh abāg ma 'nīg*

3) *zand nibištām ud frāz*

4) *hištām man dēn bandag*

5) *mowbed kāwus ibn ī wahištīg*

6) *dastōr frēdōn dast-*

7) *ōr wahman bahrām frāmarz*

Fol. 766r line 1) *andar rōz mubāarak day-pad-*

2) *ādur ud az māh farrox*

3) *ādur sāl bar*

4) *1103*

5) □ □ □

6) *pas az sāl man ba-*

7) *y yazdgird šāhān šāh*

Fol 766v line 1) *šahryārān nibišt-*

2) *e šude andar kišwar*

3) *hindōān dar bandar mubāarak*

4) *surat har kas kē*

5) *xwānād ayāb hammōzād*

6) *ayāb paččēn az-iš kun-*

7) *ād ruwān man nibištār*

<sup>169</sup> The interlinear New Persian translation of the Pahlavi colophon is also provided in the manuscript.

- Fol. 767r 1) *rāy pad nēk nāmīg ud*  
 2) *ahlaw ruwānī[h] ud kirbag*  
 3) *ud mizd ham bahrag kun-*  
 4) *ād u-š rā<sup>170</sup> pad gētīyīh*  
 5) *tan husraw ud pad*  
 6) *mēnōy ruwān garōdmānīg*  
 7) *bād agar nām man nibištār*

Fol. 767v line 1) *rā awestarēd ayāb abgan-*

- 2) *ēd ayāb ayād nē*  
 3) *kunēd u-š rā pad*  
 4) *gētīy tan dusraw ud*  
 5) *pad mēnōy ruwān druwand*  
 6) *bād u-š rā hamēmāl*  
 7) *ham pad dādwar dādār*

Fol. 768r line 1) *ohrmazd pad hanjaman<sup>171</sup> isat*

- 2) *wāstar zarduštān*  
 3) *xwāyīšnīg ham kē*  
 4) *čiyōn ēn bande dar*  
 5) *nibištan dast gāhīg*  
 6) *nē dāšt ham*  
 7) *škastagīg ēn nibištāg*

Fol. 768v *rāy mu ‘āf framāyēnd pad yazdān ud amahraspandān kāmīh bawād<sup>172</sup>*

Fol. 765r line 5) In the name of the creator

- 6) Ohrmazd.  
 7) Completed in welfare and joy  
 8) and happiness and pleasure  
 9) in good luck (and)

Fol. 765v 1) auspiciousness, the Avesta

- 2) the Yasna with the translation,  
 3) the Zand. I wrote and  
 4) and launched (it), I, the servant of the religion,  
 5) the priest Kāwus son of the heavenly  
 6) priest Frēdōn (son of) the priest  
 7) Wahman Bahrām Frāmarz,

Fol. 766r line 1) on the blessed Day-pad-


- 2) Adur day and from the auspicious month  
 3) Adur, year  
 4) 1103  
 5) □ □ □

- 6) after the year of my lord,  
 7) Yazdgird, King of Kings,

Fol. 766v line 1) son of Šahryār. It is written

- 2) in the land of  
 3) Indians in the blessed port  
 4) of Surat. Everybody, who

<sup>170</sup> Here and in fol. 767v, lines 1, 3 and 6, the text spells *l’*.

<sup>171</sup> As the reading of  is unclear, *hanjaman* is based on the corresponding New Persian *anjuman* (انجمن).

<sup>172</sup> Fol. 768v is not uploaded on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive. Therefore, its text is copied from Unvala (1940: 51) who writes neither the folio nor the line number.

- 5) reads it, or teaches it,  
 6) or makes a copy from it,  
 7) should make my soul, the scribe,  
 Fol. 767r line 1) participant in the good fame and  
 2) in the righteousness of the soul and in the good deed  
 3) and reward.  
 4-5 And the renowned body (may be) for him in the material world and in  
 6) the spiritual world, (his) soul may be Garōdmānic.  
 7-Fol 767v line1) If he stains my name, the scribe, (or) throws it away (in oblivion),  
 2) or does not mention it,  
 3-4 may the ill-famed body (be) for him in the material world and  
 5) in the spiritual world may (his) soul be deceitful,  
 6-7) and I am his opponent before the judge, the creator  
 File 768r line 1) Ohrmazd, before the assembly of Isad-  
 2) wāstar son of Zardušt.  
 3) I desire that  
 4-768v) as this servant has not got the skill in writing they will pardon the shortcoming  
 [lit. breaks] of this manuscript. May it be according to the will of the Yazads and the  
 Amshāspands.<sup>173</sup>

There are several Arabic loanwords in the colophon, coming from New Persian: 1) *ma'nīg* “meaning” (fol. 765v line 2) which is the Pahlavicised form of the Arabic *ma'nī*, 2) *ibn* “son” (fol. 765v line 5), 3) *mubārak* “blessed” (fol. 766r line 1; fol. 766v line 3) and 4) *mu'āf kardan* “to pardon” (fol. 768v). In fol. 766v line 1-2, *nibište šūde* (YKTBWN-st-yh) and *bande* (bndyh) in fol. 768r line 4, are the Pahlavicised forms of the New Persian *nivišta šuda* (نوشته شده) in which the final *h* (ه, ه) represents the New Persian suffix *a* derived from \*-ka > Phl. -ag > NP. -a (ه).<sup>174</sup> The spelling -yh (e) rather than -ah (a) is also dialectical.<sup>175</sup> It should be noted that in M1, *št* in *nibištār* is replaced by *st* which also seems to be dialectical. The direct objects *ruwān man nibištār* (fol. 766v line 7) and *nām man nibištār* (fol. 767r line 7) are marked by the direct object postposition *rā(y)* (fol. 767r line 1, fol. 767v line 1) that, as mentioned before, it is a feature of the late New Persian-like Pahlavi texts. In fol. 767r line 7 and fol. 767v line 6, YHWWN- 't can be transcribed as either *bawād* or *bād*. In the present edition, it is shown as *bād* because of the reading of the interlinear New Persian translation *bād* (باد) and the reading *bād* with *w* absorption in the Pahlavi colophon of the older Indian J2 manuscript as discussed above. In fol. 768r line 4, *dar* is transcribed instead of *andar* “in” because it is represented by the heterogram *BBḤ* (*dar*), originally meaning “door” in Pahlavi. The occurrence of *dar*, showing the development Phl.

<sup>173</sup> The translation is after Unvala (1940: 52-53).

<sup>174</sup> For \*-ka > Phl. -ag > NP. -a (ه) See Abolghassemi (1996 (1375): 20).

<sup>175</sup> See Windfuhr & Perry (2009: 429).



*andar* > NP. *dar* “in”, is another example of the influence of New Persian on the Pahlavi text of the colophon of M1.<sup>176</sup>

Unvala (1940: 51) giving *kirbag ud mizd* (fol. 767r line 2-3) in his transcription, translates it as “the reward of good deeds”. However, Phl. *ud* “and” cannot be interpreted as the *ezāfa* ī “of”. The spelling of the vertical stroke 𐬨 as *W* (*ud*) is confirmed by its corresponding interlinear New Persian translation *u* (و) “and”.

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<sup>176</sup> For the omission of the initial *a* in New Persian see Mazdapour (2011 (1390): 180-182).

### 3 Tradition of Transmission and Method of Research

### 3.1 Tradition of Transmission

It is mentioned in the Dēnkard VIII that the Sasanian Avesta was divided into 21 *nask-*s “bundles”. Moreover, a Pahlavi translation of this Avesta was probably available since the description of the Dēnkard is based on the Pahlavi version (Gignoux 1996: 288). Until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, it had been assumed that the extant Avestan texts are the remnants of the Sasanian Great Avesta. Kellens (1998), however, rejects this relationship. He suggests that the Avestan texts at our disposal, including the Yasna, are liturgical texts reaching back to the Old Iranian period. By contrast, as pointed out by Hintze (2014a: 7), ‘while Kellens’s conclusions on the antiquity of the rituals incorporated in the extant Avesta have been widely accepted, the question of the relationship between the Dēnkard and ritual Avestas still remain open’.

The manuscripts provide evidence for both an oral and a written tradition of the Avestan texts and their Zand. As is now widely understood, the oral tradition has always played an important role in Zoroastrianism. In particular, as discussed above in section 1.1, the Avesta was both composed orally and transmitted orally until it was written down probably during the late Sasanian period. From then on, the oral tradition has continued in an unbroken line alongside the written one up to the present day. That the oral tradition was regarded superior to the written one emerges from a passage in the Dēnkard V (DkM. 460.6-8) where *wāz gōwišnīh* “oral tradition” is considered to be of greater legitimacy than its written counterpart.<sup>177</sup> The oral tradition is explicitly referred to in the Pahlavi text of Husraw ud Rēdag according to which pages had to memorise the Avesta and Zand in the priestly schools:

HR 8-10. *pad hangām ō frahangestān dād ham*  
*ud-am pad frahang kardan saxt ōštāft būd ham*  
*ud-am yašt ud hādōxt ud bayān ud juddēvdād hērbēdīhā warm*  
*gyāg gyāg zand niyōxšīd ēstād*  
*ud-am dibīrīh ōwōn*  
*kū huwasp nibēg ud ray nibēg*  
*bārīk dānišn kāmagkār hudast*  
*frazānag az-iš ham*

In due time, I was given to the school  
 and in my study, I was very diligent.  
 I memorised the Yašt and the Hādōxt, the Bayān and the Vīdēvdād like a Hērbad  
 and passage by passage heard the Zand.

<sup>177</sup> For a translation see (Amouzegar & Tafazzoli 2007 (1386): 88).

And my scribal ability was such  
that I am a good writer and a swift writer,  
with keen understanding, successful, skilful  
and learned.<sup>178</sup>

However, the influence of the oral tradition is mainly present in the Sāde manuscripts whose study is beyond the scope of the present research.<sup>179</sup> As for the written tradition of the Avesta and Zand, the Dēnkard III (DkM 405.11-21), relates a legend according to which the interrogation between Zardušt, his first disciples and the First Teachers (*pōryōtkēšān*) was written down under the king Wištāsp. Then, a copy of it was committed to *ganj ī šspyk 'n* (*šāhīgān*?) “Treasure of Lords?”.<sup>180</sup> Later, several copies of it were produced to be circulated over the country and a copy was also sent to *ganj nibišt* “Fortress of Writing” to be kept there. It should be noted that while the localization of *ganj ī šāhīgān* is unmentioned in the sources, the Pahlavi text of the Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr 2-5, associates the treasury in which the Avesta was kept with the city of Samarkand:

ŠĒ 2-5 *pad kust ī xwarāsān samarkand šahrestān kāūs ī kawādān bun fragand*  
*syāwaxš ī kāūsān be frazāmēnīd*  
*kay-husraw ī syāwaxšān anōh zād*  
*u-š warzāwand ātaxš wahrām anōh nišāst*  
*pas zardušt dēn āwurd*  
*az framān ī wištāsp šāh 1000 ud 200 fragard pad dēn dibīrīh pad taxtagīhā ī zarrēn kand*  
*ud nibišt ud pad ganj ī ātaxš nihād*  
*ud pas gizistag skandar sōxt ud andar ō drayāb abgand*

In the Eastern direction, the foundation of the city of Samarkand was laid by Kāūs, the son of Kawād.

Syāwaxš, the son of Kawād, completed it.

Kay Husraw, the son of Syāwaxš, was born there  
and he set the miraculous Wahrām fire there.

Then, Zardušt brought the Religion.

By the order of the king Wištāsp 1200 chapters in the Avestan script were engraved on golden tablets,

and written and deposited in the treasury of that fire (temple).

And then, the accursed Alexander burnt and threw it in the sea.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>178</sup> The text is after Bailey (1943: 160). For texts emphasising on the importance of memorising the Zand see Bailey (1943: 158-161).

<sup>179</sup> For recent results on the tradition of the transmission of the Avestan texts in the Sāde manuscripts see Cantera (2012a: 279-346).

<sup>180</sup> In the Dēnkard, it is spelled as *šspyk 'n* (DkM 405.19, 406.1); *šp 'n'* (DkM 406.9, 649.19); *špyk 'n'* (DkM 412.4-5, 412.22). For a review on different scholarly interpretations of the word see Hintze (2008: 147, fn. 2), and also Shaki (1981: 115, fn. 2).

<sup>181</sup> The text is after Daryaei (2002: 13, 17). According to the Dēnkard V (DkM 437.16-23), the teachings of the vizier Jāmāsp were also kept in *ganj ī xwadāyān* “Treasury of Lords” in addition to the Avesta and its Zand.

In other Pahlavi texts, *diz ī nibišt* is placed in Staxr:

AWZ 1.12-18 *ud ēn dēn čiyōn hamāg abestāg ud zand ī abar gāw pōstīhā ī wirāstag pad āb ī zarr nibištāg andar staxr ī pābagān pad diz ī nibišt nihād ēstād ōy petyārag ī wad-baxt ī ahlamōg ī druwand ī anāg-kardār aleksandr ī hrōmāyīg ī muzrāyīg mānišn abar āwurd ud be sōxt*

And this scripture namely all the Avesta and Zand had been written with gold water on prepared cowhide and disposed in Staxr ī Pābagān in the Fortress of Writing. The wicked, wretched, heretic, sinful, maleficent Alexander the Roman, resident of Egypt, took (them) away and burnt.<sup>182</sup>

Regarding the alleged Achaemenid copy of the Avesta and Zand, like AWZ 1.12-18, other Zoroastrian sources refer to its existence. For example, according to the Dēnkard IV (DkM 412.3-5), Dārāy ī Dārāyān kept two copies of the Avesta and Zand in the Fortress of Writing and Treasury of *špyk'n' (šāhīgān?)* as it had been revealed to Zardušt.<sup>183</sup> According to the Dēnkard III (DkM 405.21-406.2), after Alexander's invasion, one of the manuscripts in the Fortress of Writing was burnt and the second copy *ō yōnāyīg uzwān be wizārd* "was translated into the Greek language".<sup>184</sup> Later, the Arsacid king Valaxš is said to have ordered to collect the Avesta and Zand which either were left in the *nibištāg* "written" form or had survived through *uzwān abespārisnīg* "oral transmission" (DkM 412.5-11).

The mentioned stories of the existence of a written Avesta even in pre-Achaemenid times are all legendary as there is no evidence that such a written Avesta ever existed. The first Iranian language which was committed into writing is Old Persian whose script was probably invented around 520 BCE under Darius I.<sup>185</sup> Furthermore, the Avestan script is mainly based on fully developed cursive form of the Pahlavi script and the latter reached its final development between the fifth and seventh centuries CE.<sup>186</sup> However, a historical component in the account of the Dēnkard could be that the Achaemenid Avesta was accompanied with its Zand. The reason is that although Zand means the Pahlavi version of the Avesta including commentaries, the YAv texts of Y 19-21 are commentaries to the Ya9ā Ahū Vairiō, Ašəm Vohū and Ye9he Hātām prayers, respectively.<sup>187</sup> Furthermore, as

<sup>182</sup> The text is after Wahman (1986: 77, 191).

<sup>183</sup> For a translation of DkM 412.3-415.3 see Shaki (1981: 118-121).

<sup>184</sup> For a translation see de Menasce (1973: 379).

<sup>185</sup> For Old Persian script see Skjærvø (2009c: 47, 52-53).

<sup>186</sup> For a discussion on the dating of the Avestan script see Hintze (1998: 156-157), and also Cantera (2004: 157-163).

<sup>187</sup> See Hintze (2015: 36).

mentioned above, the Pahlavi texts claim that a copy was kept in Staxr in Pārs. The existence of an Avestan version redacted in Pārs agrees with the studies of Hoffmann according to whom the present Avesta is highly influenced by the Achaemenid dialect of the province of Pārs.<sup>188</sup> Regarding the existence of a written version of the Avesta during the late Achaemenid, Arsacid and early Sasanian periods, although it cannot be ruled out, the present written version of the Avesta cannot be dated sooner than fifth-seventh centuries due to palaeographical evidence as mentioned above.<sup>189</sup>

Non-Zoroastrian sources on the transmission of the Avesta during the Arsacid and early Sasanian periods are contradictory. The Greek writers Pausanias, living in the second century, Eusebius of Caesarea (260-340 CE), the Manichaean Kephalia book in Coptic and the Latin author Pliny (23-79 CE) refer to the Avesta copies. Pausanias reports the existence of a manuscript from which a Lydian Zoroastrian priest read the prayers in the Fire Temple. Eusebius also refers to the sacred collection of the Zoroastrian scripture. According to the Coptic Kephalia, Zaradēs (= Zardušt) had not written a book but his students wrote a book after him. Pliny cites Hermippos's account according to which Zoroaster, living 6000 years before Plato and Aristotle, had written two million verses. By contrast, the bishop Basilios of Caesarea of Cappadocia mentions in a letter sent to the bishop Epiphanius of Constantia in 377 CE, that the folk of magi, who came from Babylonia to Cappadocia, did not possess books. Moreover, some Syrian Christian authors mention that the Zoroastrian tradition is purely oral. However, the authenticity of these reports is questioned. For example, it is possible that the Greek alphabet was used by the Lydian priests to write down their text. Furthermore, the story of Pliny is legendary. Regarding the Manichaean account, it could be based on a similar Zoroastrian story which was later attested in the Dēnkard as mentioned above. The reports of Basilios and other Christian authors are also unreliable because they are obviously hostile towards the religion of magi. Furthermore, they were not well acquainted with the Zoroastrian teachings and rituals. For example, Basilios mentions that the followers of magician did not have teachers of the faith.<sup>190</sup>

According to the Pahlavi account, during the Sasanian period (224-651 CE), several attempts were made at restoring the canon. Tansar, the high priest of the first Sasanian king of kings, Ardashīr, is said to have chosen one version of the Avesta. Under Ardashīr's son,

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<sup>188</sup> For a review of Hoffmann's works on the dialect of the Avesta see Hintze (1998: 154 and 154, fn. 40-42).

<sup>189</sup> For a review on different suggestions on the written transmission of the Avesta see Hintze (1998: 151). For a discussion on the dating of the Avestan script see Hintze (1998: 156-157), and also Cantera (2004: 157-163).

<sup>190</sup> See Hintze (1998: 149-150); Stausberg (1998: 259-261); Cantera (2004: 135-159).

Šāpuhr, the dispersed Avestan *nibēgīhā* “books” in Rome, India and other places on non-religious subjects were also added to the religious material. These texts were on *bizeškīh* “medicine”, *star gōwišnīh* “astronomy”, *čandišn* “movement”, *zamān* “time”, *gyāg* “space”, *gōhr* “substance”, *jahišn* “accident”, *bawišn* “becoming”, *wināhišn* “decay”, *jadag wihrīh* “transformation”, *gōwāgīh* “logic” and *abārīg kīrrōgīh* “other arts”. Furthermore, a copy was given to the Treasury. In the reign of Šāpuhr son of Ohrmazd, the high priest Ādurbād son of Māraspand chose a version of the Avesta which was accepted by other priests as the canon (DkM 412.11-413.8). Its correctness was proved by the ordeal of the molten bronze according to the following story:

AWZ 2.10-13 *ādurbād ī māraspandān kē-š pad-iš passāxt ī pad dēn kard rōy ī widāxtag abar war rēxt ud čand dādestān ud dāwarīh abāg jud-kēšān ud jud-wurrōyišnān be kard*

Ādurbād ī Māraspandān about whom the ordeal according to the religion was performed: Melted copper was poured on his breast, and he held several processes and (passed) judgement (on) the unbelievers and heretics.<sup>191</sup>

However, the appearance of Mazdak and his teachings of the community of property and women were troublesome (DkM 6.17-22). According to ZWY 2.2-4, after overcoming his heresy, Husraw II held another council in which it was decided to ban teaching the Zand to the laity.<sup>192</sup>

As far as the existence of a written version of the Avesta and Zand during the Sasanian period is concerned, Cantera (2004: 229-230) argued that at least, a written Pahlavi translation of the Vīdēvdād had probably been produced. It is based on the Pahlavi translation and commentary of *hāmō.šīiaoθna* in Vd 4.43 *hāmō.šīiaoθna tē pascaēta bauuainṭe* “your deeds then become the same”. In the Pahlavi version, *hāmō.šīiaoθna* is rendered by *ham-t wināh* in *ham-t wināh awēšān pas bawēnd* word for word translation: “same-your-offence-their-then-become” in which *ham* correctly translates Av. *hāmō* and *-t* corresponds to *tē*. Obviously, the co-occurrence of *-t* “your” and *awēšān* “their” is semantically problematic. Pointing out the problem, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1804) had suggested that the original *ham-t* was read later as *ka* (‘*MT*’) “when”. As a result, *awēšān* is a late secondary intrusion into the sentence to render *tē*. The Pahlavi translation is also followed by a commentary on offence opening with *ka-šān* “when their”. Following Bartholomae’s suggestion, Cantera (2004: 229-230) examined *ka-šān* which corresponds to

<sup>191</sup> Edition and translation by Wahman (1986: 79, 191).

<sup>192</sup> For an edition and a translation of ZWY 2.2-4 see Rezaia (2012: 486-487).

the Pahlavi translation *ham-t* /*ka*. He concluded that the interpretation of 𐬕𐬀 as *ka* rather than the correct *ham-t* in the commentary is explainable by assuming the existence of a written translation to which the commentary opening with *ka* ( 'MT) (𐬕𐬀) was added before the final codification based on the wrong interpretation of *ham-t*. However, Cantera's (2012a: 279-346) recently published article casts doubt on his aforementioned suggestion. There reason is that such features can also be the result of a late collation process.

It is also possible that a written tradition of the Avesta existed in Sogdiana. The reason is that a ninth or tenth century Sogdian document, kept in the British Library, contains the famous Ašəm Vohū prayer adapted to the local dialect. Evidence suggests that such a tradition, cannot be dated before the time of Māni living in the third century CE because the prayer is written in the Manichaean script.<sup>193</sup>

According to the Dēnkard III (DkM 407.10-408.15), the Avesta and Zand were scattered after the Arab conquest of Iran for the second time after Alexander's invasion, but Ādurfarrbay son of Farroxzād reunited the dispersed texts which were passed down to his son Zardušt. Unluckily, due to a bad accident happened to him, the texts were dispersed again but Ādurbād son of Ēmēd re-collected them. He also added new texts to the collection which was called the Dēnkard of 1000 chapters by him.

Regarding the transmission of the Pahlavi version of the Hōm Yašt, as mentioned in section 1.4, it has the features of the Pahlavi language of the ninth and twelfth or thirteenth centuries. Nonetheless, evidence suggests that either an oral or a written version of the Sasanian Zand of the Hōm Yašt should have existed. The reason is that as mentioned in section 1.4, the Zand of the Vīdēvdād and Hērbedestān have the features of the Sasanian Pahlavi. One of the commentators of the both texts was Rōšn whose name also appears in Y 9.2 as the interpreter of *dūrōšīh* "averting perdition":

*rōšn guft hād aōšīh pad hōm bawēd*

"Rōšn said, 'that is that imperishableness is through Hōm'".

Historically, the compilation of the known bilingual Pahlavi manuscripts, containing the Hōm Yašt, goes back to the tenth or eleventh century according to the colophons of the manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line attested in the IrPY Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>193</sup> See Hintze (1998: 155-156); Stausberg (1998: 259-261); Cantera (2004: 135-159).

<sup>194</sup> For the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš see 2.1.



However, as discussed below in the present section, although the Iranian manuscripts contain such an important colophon, they are late and their Pahlavi version is corrected. By contrast, the oldest manuscripts at our disposal are YIndP J2 and K5 written down in AY 692 (1323 CE). The problem with the two manuscripts is that their quality cannot be determined as they were produced by a single scribe. Regarding the readings of J2 and K5, they show the variant readings according to the following table, based on the text-critical apparatus of Y 9.1-15:

Stanza-line number	J2	K5
Y 9.1-4 <sup>195</sup>	deest	<i>gāh</i> ( <i>g's</i> )
Y 9.1-7	<i>ka</i> (' <i>MT</i> )	<i>ka-š</i> (' <i>MT-š</i> )
Y 9.1-7	deest	<i>kē</i> ( <i>MNW</i> )
Y 9.2-1	<i>ōy</i> (' <i>LH</i> )	deest
Y 9.2-8	<i>xwarišn xwarišn (hwlšn' hwlšn')</i>	<i>xwaršin (hwlšn')</i>
Y 9.3-3	<i>tō</i> ( <i>LK</i> )	<i>tō hōm</i> ( <i>LK hwm</i> )
Y 9.3-6	<i>kard kū</i> ( <i>krt' 'YK</i> )	<i>kard</i> ( <i>krt</i> )
Y 9.4-15	<i>rōšn</i> ( <i>lwsn'</i> )	<i>hād r(ō)šn</i> ( <i>HWH-t lšn</i> )
Y 9.4-22	<i>xward</i> (' <i>ŠTHN-t'</i> )	<i>xwarišn</i> ( <i>hwlšn'</i> )
Y 9.5-2	deest	<i>būd</i> ( <i>YHWWN-t'</i> )
Y 9.5-5	<i>būd hād</i> ( <i>YHWWN-t HWH-d</i> )	<i>būd</i> ( <i>YHWWN-t</i> )
Y 9.5-8	<i>burzōy ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus</i> ( <i>bwlcwk 'ytnw' nywk YHWN-t cygwn pws</i> )	<i>burzōy</i> ( <i>bwlcwkw</i> )
Y 9.6	<i>ābādīh</i> (' <i>p'tyh</i> )	<i>nēkīh</i> ( <i>nywkyh</i> )
Y 9.7-7	<i>ka</i> (' <i>MT</i> )	<i>kū</i> ( <i>MNW</i> )
Y 9.7-7	deest	<i>zād</i> ( <i>YLYDWN-t</i> )
Y 9.10-1	deest	<i>ēg-iš</i> (' <i>DYN'-š</i> )
Y 9.10-6	deest	<i>būd</i> ( <i>YHWWN-t</i> )
Y 9.10-11	<i>čē ō</i> ( <i>MH 'w'</i> )	<i>ō</i> (' <i>w'</i> )
Y 9.10-11	<i>mad</i> ( <i>mt'</i> )	<i>ān mad</i> ( <i>ZK mt'</i> )
Y 9.10-12	<i>ka</i> (' <i>MT</i> )	<i>ka az</i> (' <i>MT MN</i> )
Y 9.10-20	deest	<i>guft</i> ( <i>gwpt</i> )
Y 9.10-21	deest	<i>māhgušnasp</i> ( <i>m'hgwšnsp'</i> )
Y 9.11-1	deest	<i>az</i> (' <i>c'</i> )
Y 9.11-22	<i>tazīd</i> ( <i>tcyt'</i> )	deest
Y 9.13-1	deest	<i>ōy</i> (' <i>LH</i> )
Y 9.13-2	deest	<i>ahlaw</i> (' <i>hlwb'</i> )
Y 9.14-2	deest	<i>weh</i> ( <i>ŠPYL</i> )
Y 9.15-10	<i>kū</i> (' <i>YK</i> )	<i>čē</i> ( <i>MH</i> )
Y 9.15-15	<i>kē</i> ( <i>MNW</i> )	deest

<sup>195</sup> The line numbers are according to the line numbering of the present edition.

As the scribe of the old Indian J2 and K5 is the same person, namely Mihrābān Kayhusraw, it cannot be assumed that the variant readings represent two different traditions. Furthermore, while in J2, Mihrābān Kayhusraw is silent as to his source, in the colophons of K5 he writes that it was copied from the manuscript of Rōstahm Mihrābān. As long as there is no evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that Mihrābān Kayhusraw also used the same source for his J2 manuscript. It should be noted, however, that the table excludes minor variant readings such as *ī*, *ud* or insignificant spelling discrepancies. For example, in Y 9.4 line 7 according to the present edition, J2 and K5 spell *pws* “son” as *pws* and *BRH*, respectively. As a result, the variant readings listed above show that the manuscripts are not very faithful copies of the original source and the scribe probably used his memory alongside the original copy in compiling the manuscripts. The variant readings also suggest that in the fourteenth century, the quality of learning the Zand by heart was impaired. Regarding the latest witness of YIndP collated in the present edition, Geldner (1896: Prolegomena, xxx) mentions that M1, written in 1734 CE, is a descendant of K5. His suggestion concurs with the preliminary results of the text-critical apparatus of the present edition which shows a close relationship between the Pahlavi version of the two manuscripts.

As far as the Pahlavi texts of YIrPs especially those of Hōšang Syāvaxš’s family are concerned, the extant manuscripts date from the late eighteenth century onwards.<sup>196</sup> They were copied after Dastur Jāmāsp Velāyati arrived in India. He came from Kerman to Surat around 1720s to solve the dispute among Parsis about issues concerning Padām and the burying of corpses. In Gujarat, after examining the Indian Pahlavi Vīdēvdāds, Jāmāsp declared that the Indian Pahlavi version is too lengthy and inaccurate. He corrected the Pahlavi text and he also trained three priests, namely Dārāb from Surat, Jāmāsp from Nawsari and a priest from Baruch who subsequently followed his teachings.<sup>197</sup> Although Anquetil-Duperron gives no information about the Yasna manuscripts, it is possible that the mentioned movement also influenced the Zand of the Yasna. In Jāmāsp’s post-arrival Pahlavi Vīdēvdād manuscripts, Cantera & Andrés-Toledo (2008: 91-99) identify three features of the revised Zand:

1) Some commentaries are shortened or omitted in Jāmāsp’s post-arrival Pahlavi Vīdēvdād manuscripts.

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<sup>196</sup> See section 2.1 and 2.2.

<sup>197</sup> See Anquetil-Duperron (1771: Vol. 1, 326-327); Cantera & Andrés-Toledo (2008: 82-83).

- 2) The prepositions and adverbs can be missing if they are thought to have no corresponding Avestan word.
- 3) Some glosses are added which are absent in older manuscripts.

A preliminary comparative study with the readings of Y 9.1-17 illustrates that YIrPs of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line, all of which were copied after 1720, share the same features with those Pahlavi Vīdēvdād manuscripts which were copied after Jāmāsp's arrival.

Regarding feature 1, some commentaries are omitted which are present in pre-1720 manuscripts of the YIndP. In addition to commentaries, the omissions can extend to the Pahlavi translations of the original Avestan in YIrPs. For example, in Pt4, Mf4, G14,<sup>198</sup> T6 and T55b,<sup>199</sup> the Pahlavi commentary and translation [*ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmist šustan*] *gāhān srāyišnīh*, corresponding to Av. *ātrəm pairi.yaoždaḡəntəm gāḡāšca srāuuaiiaṇtəm* are omitted (see Y 9.1 commentary 2).

In Y 9.1, YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b omit *tan* in *hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd* “That is: The life, the body, through righteousness, was made immortal” (see Y 9.1 commentary 13).

In Y 9.7, Phl. *was* is omitted from the commentary *xānag az abarmānd ī pidarān was būd* in G14 and T6 (see Y 9.7 commentary 3).

In Y 9.16, Phl. *zarrēn gōn* “golden coloured”, the translation of Av. *zairi.gaonō*, is shortened to *zarrēn* “golden” in Pt4 (fol. 60v line 1), Mf4 (p. 159 line 9), G14 (fol. 58v line 6), T6 (fol. 50v line 1) and T55b (fol. 77v line 5).

As to the second feature, in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2,<sup>200</sup> T6 and T55b, the dative expressing preposition *ō* is omitted in the translation of Y 9.3 *nəmō haōmāi*, or Phl. *namāz (ō) hōm*, while in J2 and K5, *ō* is attested (see Y 9.3 commentary 1).

In Y 9.8, the dative expressing preposition *ō* is deleted in *wattar ō gēhān*, rendering Av. *aγam gaēḡāuuiiō*, in YIrPs (see Y 9.8 commentary 6).

Regarding the third feature, in Y 9.1, the Avestan quotation *miḡrō z(a)iiāṭ zaraḡuštṛəm* is attested in YIrP Pt4, F2 and G14-T6, in the margin, at the end of the Avestan text of Y 9.1c and at the end of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1c, respectively. The evidence suggests

<sup>198</sup> The Phl. *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmist šustan* appears in the margin of G14. It shows that the Pahlavi sentence is separated from the main Pahlavi text.

<sup>199</sup> The preliminary results of the text-critical apparatus suggest that T55b is closely related to Pt4. However, in the available incomplete manuscript starting from Y 7.19, the colophon of Hōšang ī Syāwaxš is wanting.

<sup>200</sup> F2 is an Iranian manuscript written after the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp. However, it does not have the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš.

that because of the proliferative feature of the long commentary, the Avestan quotation from a lost text is incorporated into the text of the mentioned Iranian manuscripts. (see Y 9.1 commentary 12).

At the end of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1, the late corrupt Phl. *amarg kard jān [ī xwēš rāy] pad stāyišn [ī ohrmazd]* renders Av. *amərəza gaiehe stūna* in YIrP G14 and T6 (see Y 9.1 commentary 15).

In Y 9.2, the Pahlavi translation and commentary *[kē tis-ē] xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy*, corresponding to *ā mām yāsaṇ<sup>v</sup>ha spitama frā mām* are added in the Pahlavi version of YIrP G14, F2 and T6 (see Y 9.2 commentary 5).

In Y 9.8, the commentary *kū band kard* is inserted between *kē-š zad* and *az ī dahāg* in YIrP Pt4 (superscr.), G14 and T6. Furthermore, in Pt4 the object postposition *rāy* is added in margin after *dahāg* under the influence of New Persian (see Y 9.8 commentary 1).

In Y 9.8, *hazār wizōstār* is explained by the commentary *hazār mard rāy zōr dāšt* in the margin of YIrP Pt4 and T55b (see Y 9.8 commentary 3).

In Y 9.8, the superscript commentary *abāyēd ā-š kard* is added at the end of the Pahlavi version in YIrP Pt4 (see Y 9.8 commentary 10).

In Y 9.11, the superscript commentary *kū kard ud abāz dāšt ud dūr kard* is inserted after *kē-š zad* in YIrP Pt4 (see Y 9.11 commentary 1).

In Y 9.11, associated with *kū dō pā būd*, the commentary *az ān gyāg be gurēxt* is added in the margin of YIrP Pt4 and T55b (see Y 9.11 commentary 11).

In Y 9.16, the commentary *kū tis ī ō ōy dahē* is added between the Pahlavi translation *weh hōm ī hudāg* and the following commentary *kū pad frārōnīh dād ēstē* in YIrP Pt4 (superscr. fol. 59r line 14), G14 (fol. 58r line 14 - fol. 58v line 1) and T6 (fol. 50r line 7-8).

In Y 9.16, the commentary *kū hōm xwarēnd andar yazišn ud hōm drōn ud čānīg be xwarēnd* takes place above the line and in the margin of YIrP Pt4 (fol. 59v line 3) after *ka-t xwarēnd*.

In addition, there are other examples suggesting that YIrPs have been corrected:

- a) As mentioned in section 2.1, the colophons of YIrP G14 and T6 are corrected.
- b) In Y 9.1, Av. *upāit* “went” is rendered by *pēš raft* in YIrP Pt4 in contrast to the *lectio difficilior abar raft* in other manuscripts (see Y 9.1 commentary 1).
- c) In Y 9.1, the pahlavicised *mtlwk (mihro)* “Mihr” is interpreted as *mad* “came” and *rōy* “face” in YIrP Pt4, F2, T6 and T55b (see Y 9.1 commentary 8).
- d) In G14 and T6, the order of the Avestan original *huuarə.darəsō mašiiānqm* and its Pahlavi translation and commentary *xwaršēd nigerišntom az mardōmān [būd hučašmtom]* is

different from that of the other copies (see Y 9.4 commentary 4).

e) In Y 9.4, the number 2 is added at the beginning of the corrupt Pahlavi translation of Av. *aṇhaošəmn* in YIrP G14 and T6 to express the Avestan dual number (see Y 9.4 commentary 7).

f) In Y 9.7, *ēd* in YIrP G14, F2, T6 and YInd J2, K5, M1 is replaced by *ō* in YIrP Pt4, T55b and *ō ēd* in YIrP Mf4 (see Y 9.7 commentary 2).

g) In Y 9.8, Av. *aš.aojaṇhəm* is translated in the YIrP Pt4, G14 and T55b by *ōzōmand* in contrast to *was ōz* in the other collated manuscripts (see Y 9.8 commentary 4).

h) In Y 9.10, *dād* “rule” is corrected to mean *gad* “mace, weapon” in YIrP Pt4, F14, F2, T6 and T55b. Moreover, *tāzīg* and *turk* appear as the plural *tāzīgān* in YIrP Pt4, G14, T6 and *turkān* in YIrP Pt4, G14, F2 and T6. Furthermore, the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. ind. *dārēd* is replaced by 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. subj. *dārānd* in YIrP G14 and T6 (see Y 9.10 commentary 13).

i) The sections c and d of Y 9.11 (according to the present edition) merge together in G14 and T6. Furthermore, the verb *xwist* is corrected to *xwāst* in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b (see Y 9.11 commentary 11).

j) In Y 9.12, Phl. *hōm*, rendering Av. *haōma*, is replaced by *hād* in YIrP Pt4 and T55b (see Y 9.12 commentary 1).

k) In Y 9.14, the ergative construction *tō fradom zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd* is corrected to the accusative *tō fradom zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd hē* under the influence of New Persian in YIrP Pt4, G14 and T55b (see Y 9.14 commentary 3).

l) In Y 9.14, the ergative construction *kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard* is corrected to *kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard hē* under the influence of New Persian in YIrP Pt4, G14, T6 and T55b (see Y 9.14 commentary 4).

m) Davar (1904: 14) had also suggested that YIrP Mf4 is corrected, stating ‘as to Mf4, though it often gives the better preserved text, I am inclined to think that the copyist has, at times, meddled with the text.

n) As noted by Zeini (2014: 28) in his unpublished dissertation on *The Pahlavi Version of the Yasna Haptanghāiti*, the Pahlavi version of the manuscripts attributed to Hōšang Syāwaxš ‘seems to show a larger degree of variation compared to the Avestan text’.

Furthermore, the study of diacritical marks among the Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts shows that in YIrPs, a systematic set of diacritic marks are recruited to represent /j/, /š/, /x/, /y/.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>201</sup> The diacritical marks of Y 9.1-4 are studied among YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b and YIndP J2, K5, M1 in my unpublished Master dissertation (Khanizadeh 2013: 39-55).

These factors should be considered in choosing a proper research method. For the relationship between YIrP Pt4, Mf4 and G14, written in 1780 CE, although the colophon of Hōshang Syāwaxš appears in all of them,<sup>202</sup> they bear the traces of independent priestly correction activities. Regarding the other Iranian manuscripts, the preliminary results of the text-critical apparatus point to a close relationship between YIrP Pt4 and undated T55b on the one hand and G14 and T6 on the other hand. However, as shown above, the marginal or superscript texts in Pt4 are sometimes absent in T55b. Regarding F2, although it is a YIrP, its spellings and orders occasionally agree with those of YIndPs. For example, in Y 9.1 line 15, *ēd rāy* in the Iranian manuscripts contrasts with *ēd rāy čē* in YIndPs together with F2 and as mentioned above in Y 9.3 line 2, YIrPs have *namāz hōm*, but YIndPs and F2 write *namāz ō hōm*. Finally, the names and a short description of the manuscripts collated here, together with a summary of the preliminary results according to their internal and external evidence (variant readings,<sup>203</sup> date of completion and names of scribes) are summarised in the following table:

Group	Siglum	Completion date	Scribe	Other features	Preliminary results
Iranian	Pt4	1780 CE	Unknown	It belongs to the Hōšang ī Syāvaxš family.	Corrected.
	Mf4	1780 CE	Unknown	It belongs to the Hōšang ī Syāvaxš family.	Corrected.
	G14	1780 CE	Kāwus Suhrāb Rōstam Mānak Mihrnōš Meherjirāna	It belongs to the Hōšang ī Syāvaxš family.	Corrected.
	F2	1814 CE	Sohrābji Kāušji Sohrābji Meherjirāna	-	Contaminated.
	T6	1842 CE	Suhrāb Frāmarz Suhrāb Rōstam Meherjirāna	It belongs to the Hōšang ī Syāvaxš family.	Corrected. Closely related to G14. Copied from G14 according to its colophon.
	T55b	Unknown	Unknown	-	Corrected. Closely related to Pt4.

<sup>202</sup> See section 2.1.

<sup>203</sup> See text-critical apparatus.

Indian	J2	1323 CE	Mihrābān Kayhusraw Mihrābān Spandyār Mihrābān Marzbān	-	Quality unknown.
	K5	1323 CE	Mihrābān Kayhusraw Mihrābān Spandyār Mihrābān Marzbān	-	Quality unknown.
	M1	1734 CE	Kāwus Frēdōn Wahman Bahrām Frāmarz	-	Closely related to K5.

It should be noted that the phrase ‘closely related to’, in the right column refers to spelling similarities between the collated manuscripts<sup>204</sup> and it does not necessarily indicate the direct genealogical relationship between two copies. For the genealogical studies of the manuscripts, the methods derived from the phylogenetic analyses in biology have recently been suggested. However, these studies are beyond the scope of the present edition.<sup>205</sup>

In conclusion, six different periods for the transmission of the Zand can be distinguished:

1) The oral composition of the Zand during the Sasanian period. It is also possible that a written version of it was produced.

2) The production of the first known bilingual Avestan-Pahlavi manuscript in the tenth or eleventh century.

3) From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, the Pahlavi text was the subject to some minor interpretive activities.

4) In the fourteenth century, the Zand was mainly transmitted in written form but traces of the oral transmission are also noticeable.

5) In the eighteenth century, the period of revisions starts, represented by the corrected YIrP Pt4, Mf4 and G14 copies. By contrast, the only Indian copy, or M1 (1734 CE), is closely related to K5 (1323 CE).

6) After revisions, scribes reproduced faithful copies of the corrected ones. For example, YIrP T6 (1842 CE) which is a copy of G14 (1780 CE) and YIrP T55b, although undated, is very close to Pt4 (1780 CE). An exception is F2 (1814 CE) in which the text of the old tradition is collated with the contrasting corrected one.

<sup>204</sup> See text-critical apparatus.

<sup>205</sup> For methods of building genealogical trees between manuscripts see Cantera (2012a: 279-346).

### 3.2 Method of Research

While in scholarly works on the Zand, the methodology of edition is usually left undiscussed, the methods of textual criticism in the field of Avestan studies are borrowed from the field of Classical and Biblical studies in which different approaches to textual criticism have been developed. Furthermore, in the editions of the Zand, the evaluation of manuscripts is mainly based on the external evidence from their Avestan original and colophons rather than the internal evidence from the Zand itself.<sup>206</sup>

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, scholars of Avestan studies adopted the Lachmannian, or stemmatic, theory with slightly different methodologies in their editions of the Avesta. For example, while Geldner mainly followed the readings of the oldest witnesses, which were the manuscripts of Mihrābān Kayhusraw, Hoffmann believed that philological analyses are necessary for the reconstruction of the Sasanian archetype (Cantera 2012b: 461-462).<sup>207</sup> The theory is associated with Karl Lachmann who declared that a firm basis based on manuscripts should be established for an edition. According to his method, the genealogical relationships of codices should be clarified prior to the edition. Thereafter, the aim of the edition is to reconstruct the archetype based on the readings of the best and the oldest copies of different genealogical groups.<sup>208</sup>

By limiting the number of the collated manuscripts, the Lachmannian method is applicable in the edition of the Greek and Latin texts with their strong and solid written tradition. By contrast, only around 28 Pahlavi Yasna copies are currently known. Furthermore, as mentioned before, the existence of an archetype from which all manuscripts are derived is uncertain. Moreover, the traditional binary division of the manuscripts into the Iranian and Indian groups is based on the analysis of their Avestan original according to the Lachmannian theory. By contrast, the results of the present edition show that the Lachmannian is inadequate to do justice to the complex transmission of the Pahlavi Yasna. For example, according to the results presented in section 3.1, the Pahlavi version shows six phases of textual development which cannot be explained by the common Iranian-Indian grouping of manuscripts. Moreover, according to the colophon of YIndP J2 and K5, they

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<sup>206</sup> See the section 1.5.

<sup>207</sup> Hoffmann himself edited no Avestan text but his suggestions were widely accepted by scholars.

<sup>208</sup> See Epp (2013: 534-535). Publishing an edition of the New Testament, Lachmann proposed no theory but his method was formulated by Maas (1927).



were written down by an Iranian scribe. Therefore, it can be concluded that all manuscripts are ultimately Iranian.<sup>209</sup>

A non-eclectic method is the diplomatic method, suggested by Bédier (1928) according to whom, all orthographic features of a manuscript, without introducing any critical edition should be given. In the field of Avestan studies, with the diplomatic method, Brockhaus (1850) reproduced the text of the Videvdād Sāde P1.<sup>210</sup> Recently, Zeini (2014) also reproduced the Pahlavi text of Pt4 in his unpublished PhD thesis on *The Pahlavi version of the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti* according to the diplomatic method as he claims. However, in his edition, the Pahlavi version of Pt4 is emended in cases of obvious spelling mistakes (Zeini 2014: 27) which makes his edition closer to the copy-text method as discussed below. Although the diplomatic seems to be the method of choice with regard to the Sāde manuscripts, by adopting it in the present edition, the fact is ignored that at least the written tradition outweighs the contrasting oral one in the transmission of the Pahlavi version of the Yasna.

To restrict the editorial judgements of the Lachmannian method, a new theory emerged in the early twentieth century called the copy text method. It was first employed by Ronald McKerrow and later developed by Walter Greg. In the copy-text method, the editor chooses one copy as the best text and s/he only emends the text when the reading is substantially erroneous.<sup>211</sup> At the beginning, the scholars of the copy-text method were very conservative. For example, McKerrow, chose the second edition of Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* in 1904 as his copy text and emended it only at obviously erroneous points (Tanselle 1994: 1-2). However, scholars gradually accepted greater freedom. For example, Greg, in his article "The Rationale of a Copy Text" in 1950, supports editorial freedom. He states that it is 'disastrous to curb the liberty of competent editors'. He also adds that the judgement of an editor is likely to bring us closer to what the author wrote.' (Greg 1950: 32-34).

According to the features of the available Pahlavi Yasna texts at our disposal, in the present edition, the preferred method for the edition is the copy-text method. The reason is that the relationship between the liturgical Avestan texts and their Zand, on the one hand, and the Sasanian Great Avesta, on the other hand, is dubious.<sup>212</sup> Furthermore, the linguistic

<sup>209</sup> In the field of Biblical studies, likewise, Lachmann's method has been criticised because in almost every case the manuscripts are categorised in two groups. See Bédier (1928); Vaganay (1986).

<sup>210</sup> For the use of the diplomatic method in the edition of the Avestan manuscripts see Cantera (2012b: 460-461).

<sup>211</sup> As far as I know, no edition has been claimed to be done in the field of Avestan studies according to the copy-text method.

<sup>212</sup> See section 3.1.

features and contents of the Sasanian Hōm Yašt are unknown. Therefore, the the aim of the present edition is to edit the text according to historical and linguistic available evidence. To choose the base text, the external and internal evidence of the manuscripts should be analysed. The most important external evidence, as discussed above, is the completion date of the Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts and the correction movement which started after the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp Velāyati in India. The internal evidence also corroborates that the Pahlavi version of the Iranian manuscripts, postdating the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp, is corrected. Therefore, in the present edition K5 serves as the base text because as the oldest Yasna manuscript alongside J2, it predates the arrival of Jāmāsp. Moreover, unlike J2, its source, or the copy of Rōstam Mihrābān, is mentioned in its colophons.<sup>213</sup> The Pahlavi version is also compared with its Avestan original, based on Geldner's edition. The Avestan and Pahlavi text of each stanza are followed by the commentary section in which are discussed:

- 1) my editions, if the manuscripts attest different variant readings.
- 2) my translations, if they are very different from that of other editions.
- 3) mythological aspects of Y 9.1-15 in a wider range of the Zoroastrian and Indo-Iranian mythology.
- 4) Similarities between the ritualistic aspects of the hymn on the one hand and traditional and contemporary performance of the Yasna ritual on the other hand.

However, minor spelling differences are not discussed in the commentaries. For example, the spellings of *tarsagāhīh* in Y 9.3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12 and 13. The reconstructed illegible words in K5 or corrected spellings are marked by the superscript + on the top left of the word in the transliteration section of Appendix. The transliteration is accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* offering variant readings of the collated manuscripts.

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<sup>213</sup> See section 2.1.

## 4 Text and Commentary

## 4.1 Y 9.1

- 1 (Y 9.1aA) *hāuuanīm ā ratūm ā*  
 2 *haōmō upāit̄ zaraθuštrəm*  
 3 (Y 9.1bA) *ātrəm pairi.yaoždaθəntəm*  
 4 *gāθāsca srāuuaiiantəm*  
 5 (Y 9.1cA) *ā dim pərəsaṭ zaraθuštrō*  
 6 *kō narə ahī (miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm)*  
 7 (Y 9.1dA) *yim azəm vīspahe aṇhēuš*  
 8 *astuuatō sraēštəm dādarəsa*  
 9 *xʷahe gaiiehe xʷanuuatō aməṣahe*

- 1 (Y 9.1aA) At the morning watch,  
 2 Haōma approached Zaraθuštra  
 3 (Y 9.1bA) as he was purifying the fire  
 4 and chanting the Gāθās.  
 5 (Y 9.1cA) Zaraθuštra asked him:  
 6 “Who, O man, are you (*Mithra should be known to Zaraθuštra*).  
 7-8 (Y 9.1dA) whom I have seen of all the material world as the most handsome  
 9 in one’s own sunny immortal life?”

- 1 (Y 9.1aP) *pad hāwan radīh*  
 2 [*pad hāwan gāh*]  
 3 *hōm abar raft ō zardušt*  
 4 (Y 9.1bP) *pad ātaxš [gāh] pērāmōn yōjdahrēnišnīh*  
 5 [*ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmīst šustan*]  
 6 *gāhān srāyišnīh*  
 7 [*ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš*]  
 8 (Y 9.1cP) *u-š az ōy pursīd zardušt*  
 9 *kū kē mard hē*  
 10 [*hād nē pad yašt ī fradom bawēd az pēš paydāg*]  
 11 *u-š dānist kū hōm ōh rasēd*  
 12 *ka mad būd ā-š pursīd abāyist*  
 13 *mihrō upāit̄ zardušt*  
 14 *ān paydāg kū-š šnāxt*  
 15 *ēd rāy čē ān zamān abāg yazdān wēš būd ēstād*  
 16 *u-š yazd āšnāgtar būd*  
 17 *hād u-š ēn fragard warm būd*  
 18 *u-š abāyist rāy abāg hōm ul guft*  
 19 *ast kē ēdōn gōwēd hād ohrmazd guft ēstād*  
 20 *kū har dō ōh rasēnd*  
 21 *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mihr šnāsēd*  
 22 (Y 9.1dP) *kē man az harwisp axw*  
 23 *ī astōmand ham nēktar dīd hē*  
 24 *čē-t ān ī xwēš gyān nēk kard ēstēd amarg*  
 25 [*hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd*]  
 26 *nē ēdōn čiyōn awēšān kē gōšt ī jam jud*

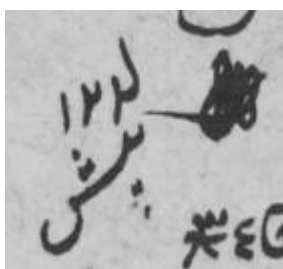
27 *u-šān andar tan amarg kard ēstād*  
 28 *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg*  
 29 *amərəza gaiiehe stūna]*

1 (Y 9.1aP) At the morning watch,  
 2 [at the morning time],  
 3 Hōm went towards<sup>1</sup> Zardušt  
 4 (Y 9.1bP) while at the fire [stand], he was around, making (the fire) pure,  
 5 [when he desired to wash the fire-stand]<sup>2</sup>  
 6 (while) reciting the Gāθās,  
 7 [when he recited the Ašəm Vohū three times which precedes the Frawarānē]<sup>3</sup>,  
 8 (Y 9.1cP) and Zardušt asked him  
 9 that: “Who, O man, are you?”  
 10 [That is:<sup>4</sup> It was clear from before that (he) is not at (his) first Yasna ceremony  
 11 and he knew<sup>5</sup> that Hōm would arrive in the usual way<sup>6</sup>.  
 12 When he had come then he wanted to ask<sup>7</sup> him,  
 13 Mihr approached Zardušt.<sup>8</sup>  
 14 It is clear that he knew him  
 15 since<sup>9</sup> he had been with more Yazds at that time  
 16 and the Yazd was<sup>10</sup> more known to him.  
 17 That is: He knew this chapter by heart<sup>11</sup>  
 18 and because of his desire, he spoke with Hōm.  
 19 There is one who says thus: ‘Yes, Ohrmazd had said  
 20 that: They both arrive in the usual way  
 21 (and) when Hōm had come (to Zardušt), then he knows Mihr].<sup>12</sup>  
 22-23 (Y 9.11d) Whom I saw better than all material world,  
 24 since your life has been well-created, immortal.”  
 25 [That is: The life, the body, through righteousness, was made immortal,<sup>13</sup>  
 26 not like those who devoured the meat (provided by) Jam  
 27 and they, bodily, had become immortal,  
 28 as far as apart from (one’s) body, everybody is immortal,<sup>14</sup>  
 29 *The pillars of life are non-removable*].<sup>15</sup>

### 1) Line 3 Y 9.1aP *abar raft* “went towards”

With the exception of YIr Pt4, the Avestan preverb *upa-* in *upāit* “approached” is rendered in the collated manuscripts by Phl. *abar* “up, on(to)”. By contrast, in Pt4 (fol. 54r line 3), a word or grapheme is crossed out at the end of the line while in the margin, Phl. *pēš* (L ‘YN’) “near” appears as the translation of the Avestan preverb:

Figure 9. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54r lines 2-4).



The unique marginal gloss together with the crossed out word or grapheme in Pt4 suggests correction, probably under the influence of New Persian. The reason is that the preverb *abar*, while being productive in Middle Persian and Early New Persian as *bar* (بر), gradually becomes unproductive.<sup>214</sup> Therefore, the scribe of Pt4 corrects *lectio difficilior* Phl. *abar raft* to *pēš raft* which is also still used in modern Persian. The suggestion agrees with the late time, or 1780 CE, in which Pt4 was copied.<sup>215</sup>

**2) Line 5-6 Y 9.1bP** *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmist šustan gāhān srāyišnīh* “when he desired to wash the fire-stand and (while he was) reciting the Gāthas”

In YIrP G14, F2 and YIndP J2, K5 and M1, the commentary *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmist šustan* occurs in the following context:

Y 9.2 *pad ātaxš [gāh] pērāmōn yōjdahrēnišnīh*  
*[ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmist šustan]*  
*gāhān srāyišnīh*

The commentary to *pad ātaxš [gāh] pērāmōn yōjdahrēnišnīh* is followed by the word for word translation of the Avestan original *gāθāśca srāuuaiiaṇtəm*, or *gāhān srāyišnīh* “and (while he was) reciting the Gāθās”. While Av. *gāθāśca srāuuaiiaṇtəm* is present in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, T6 and T55b, its corresponding Pahlavi translation and preceding commentary are absent in their Pahlavi versions. The deletion of the commentary-translation in the Iranian manuscript of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line<sup>216</sup> seems to be the result of correction

<sup>214</sup> For Middle Iranian preverbs which become unproductive in New Persian see Ahmadi-Givi (2001 (1380): 853-860).

<sup>215</sup> The preliminary results suggest that the Pahlavi version of the extant manuscripts of Hōšang ī Syāwaxš, written down after the arrival of Jāmāsp Velāyati, share similar features with those of Jāmāsp’s post arrival corrected Pahlavi Vīdēvdād copies. See section 3.1.

<sup>216</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

because it is present in another member of the line, or G14, which is also closely related to T6.<sup>217</sup> Moreover, the deletion of the commentary agrees with a feature of the corrected manuscripts postdating the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp in India according to which, as discussed in section 3.1, some commentaries in the older manuscripts are shortened or omitted. Therefore, in the present edition, the Pahlavi commentary *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmist šustan* and the Pahlavi translation *gāhān srāyišnīh*, corresponding to *gāθāsca srāuuaiiaṇtām* are employed.

As far as the continuity of the Zoroastrian traditions is concerned, the commentary agrees with the directions of the contemporary Yasna ritual according to which after pressing out the Hōm juice, the chief priest, Zōt, should wash the fire-stand (Unvala 1928: 203, fn. 2<sup>4a</sup>). In the text on *mēnōy nāwar* “the spirit Nāwar,”<sup>218</sup> which appears after VrS K7b, written by Rōstam Mihrābān in 1288 CE, the washing of the fire-stand is also mentioned:

K7. *ka adurgāh kāmēd šustan naxust dast pad pādyāb be kunišn u-š ātaxš ud barsom be nigērišn u-š yatāhōwairyō 7 be gōwišn u-š az nōg dast pad pādyāb abāz kunišn u-š xšnaoθra ahurahe mazdā tarōidite tā fərašōtāməm be gōwišn u-š az nōg dast pad pādyāb abāz kunišn ud ašəm vohū 3 frauuarāne čē gāh dārēd āθrō ahurahe mazdā puθra tauua ātarš puθra ahurahe mazdā xšnaoθra tā gyāg pad mān ī ātaxšān ud ka mān ī wehān bawēd tauua ātarš puθra ahurahe mazdā xšnaoθra tā gyāg u-š wāz az ān ī parāhōm kard frāz gīrišn u-š ādurgāh pad 3 ašəm vohū frāz šōyišn*

When he (the priest performing the initiation Nāwar ceremony) desires to wash the fire-stand, first, he should make the hand (pure) through the Pādyāb ritual and he (should) look at the fire and Barsom and he should recite 7 times the Yatāhōwairyō prayer and he should again make hand (pure) through the Pādyāb ritual and he should recite *xšnaoθra ahurahe mazdā tarōidite* up to *fərašōtāməm* and he should again make the hand (pure) through the Pādyāb ritual and (recite) *ašəm vohū* three times (followed by) *frauuarāne*, whatever watch he keeps it. *Āθrō ahurahe mazdā puθra tauua ātarš puθra ahurahe mazdā xšnaoθra* up to the end (should be recited) in the abode of fires, and when he is in the house of the faithful *tauua ātarš puθra ahurahe mazdā xšnaoθra* up to the end (should be recited) and he must take the Bāj from one who prepared the Parāhōm and should wash the fire-place with (the recital) of 3 *ašəm vohū*.<sup>219</sup>

**3) Line 7 Y 9.1b** *ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš* “when he recited the Ashəm Vohū three times which precedes the Frawarānē”

<sup>217</sup> For correction see section 3.1.

<sup>218</sup> Nāwar is term for the initiation ceremony into the priesthood and the first Yasna in the ceremony is dedicated to *mēnōy nāwar* “the spirit Nāwar”. For a discussion on *nāwar* and *mēnōy nāwar* see Y 9.14 commentary 4 *kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard*.

<sup>219</sup> The text is after Kotwal (1988: 303-304, 305). The text on *nāwar* appears after VrS K7b, fol. 101v line 14-fol. 104r line15.

Phl. *ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš* is a gloss on *gāhān srāyišnīh* “(while he was) reciting the Gāθās”:

*gāhān srāyišnīh*

[*ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš*]

The phrase *ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš* identifies reciting the Gāhān with chanting the *ašəm vohū* prayers. It agrees with the Zoroastrian tradition according to which, three Ašəm Vohū and one Frawarānē are to be recited by Zōt, while washing the fire-stand (Unvala 1924: 2-3, fn. 2<sup>4d</sup>). As stated in the previous commentary, the text on *mēnōy nāwar* “the spirit Nāwar” also proves the antiquity of this Zoroastrian practice. In conclusion, the two commentaries, *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmīst šustan* and *ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš* explain that the meeting of Hōm and Zardušt as attested in Y 9.1 took place in the Yasna ceremony when Zardušt, as a Zōt, was purifying the fire-stand and reciting the sacred prayers.

#### 4) Line 10 Y 9.1cP *hād* “that is; yes”

The Pahlavi verbal form *hād*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. subj. of *ah* “to be” functions either as a verb or as a particle in the Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts. As the verb, the subjunctive *hād* “so be it”, translates Av. *xiīāṭ*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. opt. of *ah*. For example:

Y 40.4A. *aθā x<sup>v</sup>aētūš*

*aθā vərəzənā*

*aθā haxēmam xiīāṭ*

Likewise (grant us) families,

Likewise communities!

May thus be the fellowships<sup>220</sup>

Y 40.4P. *ēdōn xwēš*

*ud ēdōn wālun*

*ēdōn hambrādag ā-m hād [kū-m dahād] ...*

Likewise, my own (be to me) ([he may grant it to me]),

and likewise, the community (be to me) ([he may grant it to me]),

likewise, the fellows be to me, [he may grant it to me]...<sup>221</sup>

<sup>220</sup> Edition and translation by Hintze (2007a: 299-300).

<sup>221</sup> My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 175).



Moreover, *hād* occurs as a particle in the Pahlavi commentaries. Skjærvø (2010: 182-190) examines contexts in which the particle *hād* occurs. He argues that in standard Pahlavi *hād* is spelt as *ḤWH-t'* when it functions as the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. subj. verbal form, but it is spelled as *ḤWH-t'* when it is used as the particle. According to him, *ḤWH-t'* without the phonetic complement represents an archaism as compared to the spelling of *hād* (*ḤWH*) in the third century Pahlavi inscriptions in which it denotes the subjunctive mood (Skjærvø 2010: 183). The manuscripts of the Pahlavi Yasna, however, show no systematic distinction in the spelling of the particle and the finite verbal form, as both are indiscriminately spelt as *ḤWH-t'* and *ḤWH-t'*. For example, Pt4 (fol 159r line 16) and J2 (fol 220v line 8) write *ḤWH-t'* as the translation of the Avestan verb *xiiaṭ*.

In the commentaries, the article *hād* either introduces a new commentary or occurs in the commentary after the *verbum dicendi* Phl. *guftan* “to say”, citing the comment of a known or an anonymous authority. In the former use, *hād* introduces commentator’s interpretation of the Avestan word or phrase. For example:

Y 9.1A *kō narə ahī*

Who, O man, are you

Y 9.1P *kū kē mard hē*

*hād nē pad yašt ī fradōm bawēd az pēš paydāg*

That who, O man, are you?

That is: It was clear from before that (he) is not at (his) first Yasna ceremony.

Skjærvø (2010: 184-190) studies the use of *hād*, attested after the verb *guftan*. According to his interpretation, it denotes the agreement with the preceding statement which is followed by an additional statement to restrict the original one (Skjærvø 2010: 187). Accordingly, he translates the particle *hād* after the verb *guftan* as “yes”, “yes and (also)”, “yes but (only)” and “yes, that is so” (Skjærvø 2010: 184-190).

As far as the Sanskrit version is concerned, it translates the particle *hād* as the interjection *aho* “oh!” or the adverb *kila* “indeed”.<sup>222</sup> There are also several examples according which *hād* is left untranslated or written by the neuter relative pronoun *yat*. For example:

Y 9.2P. *guft hād ahōšīh pad hōm bawēd*

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<sup>222</sup> See Unvala (1924: 5).

(Rōšn) said: ‘Yes, imperishableness is through Hōm.’

Y 9.2Skt. *uvāca yat akṣayatvaṃ hūmena bhavati*

(Rōšn) has said that imperishableness is through Hūma.<sup>223</sup>

In the New Persian version, the particle *hād* is rendered in a variety of ways, including *zāher ēnke* (ظاهر اینکه) “it seems that” (T6 fol. 43r line 7), *drust ast ke* (درست است که) “it is correct that” (T6 fol. 43v line 3), *zāher (h)ast ke* (ظاهر هست/است که) “it is clear that” (T6 fol. 44r line 4; fol. 47r line 11; fol. 47v line 11; fol. 48r line 3; fol. 48v line 4; fol. 49v line 8; fol. 51r line 1, 10; fol. 64r line 7), *hast ke* (هست که) “it is that” (T6 fol. 45r line 2; fol. 45v line 6; fol. 48r line 6, 7; fol. 53r line 10), *bāšad ke* (باشد که) “it should be that” (T6 fol. 45r line 4) and *zāher šude ke* (ظاهر شده که) “it has become obvious that” (T6 fol. 46r line 10).<sup>224</sup>

As far as the translation of *hād* in the Pahlavi Yasna is concerned, the evidence examined so far suggests that depending on the context and the position of *hād* in the commentary, it may be rendered as “that is (so), it means” for the *hād*, introducing redactor’s interpretation of the Avestan word or phrase and “yes”, “yes and (also)”, “yes, but also” and “yes, that is so”, for when *hād* introduces direct or indirect speech after the verb *guftan*.

#### 5) Line 11 Y 9.1cP *u-š dānist* “and he knew”

In YIrP Pt4, the superscript *ēn* “this” appears after the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. past *dānist* according to which *u-š dānist ēn* means “and he knew this”. However, *ēn* is absent in the other collated manuscripts, especially those of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line,<sup>225</sup> T55b which is closely related to Pt4, and also the old YIndP J2 and K5. Therefore, since the reading *ēn* seems to be added by the scribe of Pt4, it is not employed in the present edition.

#### 6) Line 11 Y 9.1cP *ōh rasēd* “would arrive in the usual way”

The particle *ōh* is spelled in YIrPs and their Indian counterparts with the heterogram *KN* and eteogram ‘w’, respectively. Phl. *ōh*, corresponding to Av. *auuaθa* “in that manner”, always occurs before the verb and it has usually been translated as “thus, in that manner”. However, these translations have been criticised by Skjaervø (2010: 194-199) arguing that

<sup>223</sup> Edition and translation by Unvala (1924: 7).

<sup>224</sup> The New Persian translations of *hād* occurring in Y 9-11 are from YIrP T6 (fol. 43r-70v).

<sup>225</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

Phl. *pursīd* in K5 and M1 replaces *pursīdan*, occurring in the other collated manuscripts. The infinitive in Pahlavi can either end in *-tan* > Ir. *\*-tanai* or *-t* > Ir. *\*-tai*.<sup>226</sup> Therefore, from the grammatical point of view, both readings *pursīdan* and *pursīd* are correct. Following the reading of the base text K5, *pursīd* is employed in the present edition.

The sentence *mihrō upāit zardušt* is attested in all the collated manuscripts. In his translation of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1-15, Mills (1903c: 314 and 314, fn. 4) reads the phrase as *mitrōk xūp aīt zartūšt* “the good one of Mitra is Zardušt,”.<sup>227</sup> By contrast, Davar (1904: 27) mentions that this is the Pahlavicised form of the Av. \**miθrō upāit̥ zaraθuštrəm*. As a result, he translates it as “Mihr came to Zardušt”. According to his interpretation, **𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥** should be transliterated as *mtlwk* ‘wp’yt. The spelling *mtlwk* instead of the Phl. *mtr* confirms the Pahlavicised form of the sentence. It should also be noted that the alternative reading *mihrō xūb ast* “Mihr is good” is semantically meaningless in the context of Y 9.1. With Davar’s reading, the formulaic structure of *mihrō upāit zardušt* is similar to that of Y 9.1 *haōmō upāit̥ zaraθuštrəm* “Haōma approached Zarathushtra”. The reading *mihrō upāit zardušt* is also confirmed by the context of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1 which is about the meeting of Zardušt with Hōm and Mihr. However, no consensus existed neither about the meaning nor about the reading of the Pahlavicised form in later periods. In YIrP Pt4, F2, T6 and T55b, the copyists consider *mt* and *lwk* as two words. It is confirmed by the subscript New Persian translations of **𐭮𐭥** (*mt*), as رسید “arrived”, **𐭮𐭥𐭥** (*lwk*) as روی “face” and **𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥** as خوب “good” in F2 (fol. 51v line 2) and T6 (fol. 43r line 9-10). Separating **𐭮𐭥** and **𐭮𐭥𐭥** by a vertical dotted line, Pt4 (fol. 54r line 12) also writes خوب روی “of good face” in the margin as the translation of **𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥**:

<sup>227</sup> Following MacKenzie's system of transcription, it would be *mīhrō xub ast zardušt*.

Figure 10. YIrP F2 (fol. 51v line 2).

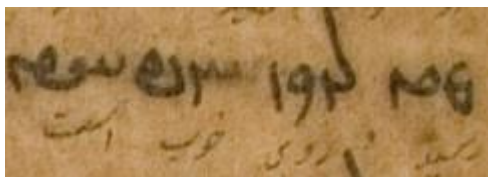
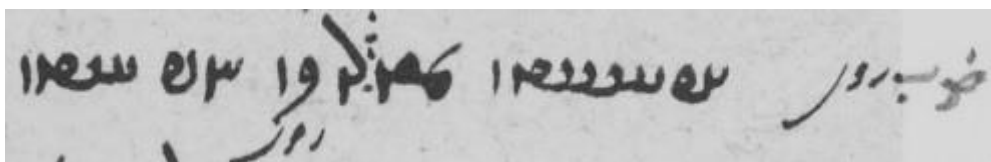


Figure 11. YIrP T6. (right: Fol. 43r line 9; left: Fol. 43r line 10).



Figure 12. Pt4 (fol. 54r line 12).



Furthermore, it has been suggested that *mihrō upāit zardušt* corresponds to *mihrō z(a)iiāit zardušt* according to which *upāit* in *mihrō upāit zardušt* is the misspelling *z(a)iiāit* in the manuscripts.<sup>228</sup> However, it is unlikely to assume that *zaiiāit* (𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥)<sup>229</sup> can be the variant reading of the Pahlavicised form *upāit* (𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥).<sup>230</sup>

### 9) Line 15 Y 9.1cP *ēd rāy čē* “since”

In the manuscripts YIrP F2 and YIndP J2, K5 and M1, *čē* “what, which; for, because” appears after *ēd rāy* while it is absent in the other copies. The problem with the editorial judgement is that both formula *ēd rāy* and *ēd rāy čē* meaning “because, since” occur in Pahlavi (MacKenzie 1971: 30). In the present edition, Phl. *čē* is employed because it is attested in the base text K5 and its sister manuscript J2.

### 10) Line 16 Y 9.1cP *būd* “was”

The verb *būdan* “to be, to become” is attested as the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. *bawēd* (YḤWWN-*yt*) in YIrPs with the exception of F2 in contrast to the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. past *būd* (YḤWWN-*t*/J2: *bwt*) in

<sup>228</sup> See Spiegel (1861: 52); Davar (1904: 27).

<sup>229</sup> Av. *mihrō zaiiāit zaraḡuštrēm* is discussed in Y 9.1 commentary 12 *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mihr šnāsēd*.

<sup>230</sup> For the Avestan phrase see Y 9.1 commentary 12 *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mihr šnāsēd*.

YIndPs together with the Iranian manuscript F2. In a wider range of context, the enclitic *u-* “and” connects *-š yazd āšnāgtar būd* (YIndPs + F2)/*bawēd* (YIrPs – F2) with the preceding sentence governed by the the periphrastic perfect verb as follows:

*ēd rāy čē ān zamān abāg yazdān wēš būd ēstād u-š yazd āšnāgtar būd/bawēd.*

As far as choosing between *bawēd* and *būd* is concerned, sentences governed by the periphrastic perfect verbs are usually connected with those governed by the verbs in the past tense, for example:

KN 1.11 *har sē šab xwamn čiyōn dīd ēstād pēš ī ōyšān guft*

The dream of each three nights as he (i.e. Ardawān) had seen (it), he related (it) before them (sleep interpreters).<sup>231</sup>

AWZ 26.16-17 *u-m dīd ruwān ī zan-ē kē-š uzwān pad gardan hamē kešīd ud az andarwāy āwēxt ēstād u-m pursīd*

And I saw the soul of a woman whose tongue was pulled far out of her neck (= throat) and she was suspended in the air and I asked ...<sup>232</sup>

Therefore, in the present edition, with the reading of the base text K5, other YIndPs and YIrP F2, *būd* is employed.

**11) Line17 Y 9.1cP** *u-š ēn fragard warm būd* “he knew this chapter by heart”

In the commentary of Y 9.1, the Iranian manuscripts Pt4, G14, F2, T6 and T55b write:

*u-š ēn fragard ōy (‘LH) bawēd*

And this chapter (Hōm Yašt) is to him.

By contrast, the following sentence appears in the Indian manuscripts J2, K5 and M1 together with YIrP Mf4:

*u-š ēn fragard 𐬨𐬀 būd* (Mf4 *bawēd*)...

And he knew (Mf4 knows) this chapter (Hōm Yašt) by heart.

<sup>231</sup> My translation. Edition by Anita (1900: 3).

<sup>232</sup> Edition and translation by Wahman (1986: 127, 203).

Mills (1900: 518), Davar (1904: 15), Unvala (1924: 4) and Dhabar (1949: 56) edit 𐭠𐭥𐭥. Moreover, Davar (1904: 15) and Unvala (1924: 4) translate it as “soft” which is based on the transcription of the Pahlavi word 𐭠𐭥𐭥 as *narm* (*nlm*). However, its corresponding form is attested in New Persian as the noun *barm* “memory” and the verb *barm dāštan* (برم داشتن) “to know by heart”.<sup>233</sup> Therefore, it is transcribed as *warm* in the present edition.

A possibility of reconciling the readings *LH* and *wlm* could be that *LH* is the consequence of copyist's mistake in which a stroke was added after 𐭠 (*m*) and the letter became 𐭠𐭥 (*H*). However, since the variant reading *LH* occurs in all of the Iranian manuscripts with the exception of Mf4, it should be associated with scribal correction.<sup>234</sup>

The second difference is the verb. Iranian manuscripts write the present tense verb *bawēd* while the Indian manuscripts attest the past tense *būd*. In a wider range of context, the Pahlavi sentences *u-š yazd āšnāgtar būd/bawēd* (see Y 9.1 commentary 10 on *būd*) and *u-š ēn fragard warm būd/bawēd* are preceded and followed by sentences governed by the perfect and past tense verbs, respectively:

*ēd rāy čē ān zamān abāg yazdān wēš būd ēstād*  
*u-š yazd āšnāgtar būd/bawēd*  
*hād u-š ēn fragard warm būd/bawēd*  
*u-š abāyist rāy abāg hōm ul guft*

As shown above, the Pahlavi commentary describes an event in the past, therefore, with YIndPs, *būd* is employed in the present edition.

**12) Line 21 Y 9.1cP** *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mihr šnāsēd* “when Hōm had come (to Zardusht), then, he knows Mihr”

In YIrPs F2 and T6, *ka* “when, if” is replaced by *kū* “that”. According to the context of the sentence *ka/kū* (F2, T6) *hōm mad būd ā-š mihr šnāsēd* “when/that means (F2, T6) he had come (to Zardusht), then he knows Mihr”, both readings are possible. However, apart from F2 and T6, in the other copies, especially the older YIrPs of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line<sup>235</sup> (Pt4, Mf4, G14) and old YIndP J2, K5, *ka* is attested. Furthermore, considering *ka*, the sentence follows *ka ... ā-* “when/since ... then” formula which is another reason for

<sup>233</sup> *Ln.* Vol. III, 4019; MacKenzie (1971: 87).

<sup>234</sup> For corrections in YIrPs see section 3.1.

<sup>235</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

choosing *ka* over *kū* in the present edition.<sup>236</sup>

Regarding the verb, *mad* in *ka hōm mad* occurs with the auxiliary verb *būdan* “to be” which appears as the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. present *bawēd* in YIrPs in contrast to 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. past *būd* in YIndPs. The sentence *ka hōm mad bawēd/būd* is connected by *ud* “and” with the preceding sentence, providing 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. *rasēnd* “(they) arrive” in the following context:

*kū har dō ōh rasēnd*  
*ka hōm mad bawēd* (YIrPs) / *būd* (YIndP) *ā-š mihr šnāsēd*

As far as the meaning of the past participle + *bawēd* is concerned, Nyberg (1974: 283, 7:10) translates it as the future perfect according to which *kū har dō ōh rasēnd ud ka hōm mad bawēd* (YIrP) *ā-š mihr šnāsēd* means “that means: They both arrive in the usual way and when/since Hōm shall have come then he knows Mihr”.<sup>237</sup>

Regarding the construction past participle + *būd* attested in YIndP, Nyberg (1975: 283, 7.9) states that the related construction *kard būd* has the perfect and plusperfect meaning. Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 376) also mentions that PP + *būd* denotes the present perfect tense. Although the reading of YIrPs better fit the context, it is unclear whether they write the original reading or the corrected one.<sup>238</sup> Therefore, with the reading of the old J2, K5, predating the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp in India, *būd* is employed in the present edition.

As regards *šnāsēd*, the verb of the subordinate clause appears as *šnāxt* “knew” in YIrPs G14, F2 and T6. However, such a reading is absent in the related YIrP Pt4 and Mf4 together with the old YIndP J2 and K5. Therefore, in the present work, the reading *šnāsēd* is employed.

As far as *mihr* is concerned, Mills (1903c: 314) translates it as “arrived” in “when Hōm had come Zardušt recognises(-sed) him (as being himself who had) arrived”. Likewise, Davar (1904: 15) reading *mad*, renders it as “(have) come” in “when he knew (him) (to have) come” (Davar 1904: 28). It should be noted that while the spelling of YIrP Pt4, Mf4, T55b and YIndPs can be interpreted as either *mad(an)* or *mihr*, YIrP G14, T6 and F2, obviously read *mad*:

<sup>236</sup> For *ka* ... *ā*- see Nyberg (1974: 108-109).

<sup>237</sup> Passive constructions can also be formed by *baw*- (Skjaervø 2009a: 232). However, in the present example, it is evident that the verb *madan* “to come” is intransitive.

<sup>238</sup> For correction see section 3.1.

**Figure 13. The variant readings of mad(an) or mihr in the Iranian and Indian manuscripts.**

<i>mad(an) or mihr</i>		<i>mt</i>	
Pt4 (fol. 54r line 17)		G14 (fol. 52v line 2)	
Mf4 (p. 146 line 10)		F2 (fol. 51v line 7)	
T55b (fol 68r line 11-12)		T6 (fol. 43v line 5)	
J2 (fol. 80v line 11)		-	-
K5 (fol. 60r line 16)		-	-
M1 (fol. 156r line 2)		-	-

It is obvious that the reading of G14, F2, T6 and the translations of Davar and Mills as *ā-š mad šnāsēd* word for word translation “then-him-came-knows” are problematic from the semantic point of view. It explains why both scholars added explanations in the brackets to make their translations understandable.

Another possibility is to read the clause as *ā-š madan (mtn') šnāsēd* “then he (Zardušt) knows his coming”. It agrees with the reading of T55b in which *d* is shown by the diacritic <sup>^</sup>.<sup>239</sup> However, the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1 is about the meeting of Zardušt with two deities namely Hōm and Mihr rather than Hōm alone. The presence of the two deities is also insisted by the preceding *har dō ōh rasēnd* “they both arrive in the usual way”:

*kū har dō ōh resēnd*  
*ka hōm mad būd ā-š mihr/madan šnāsēd*

Furthermore, *ā-š mihr šnāsēd* corresponds to Av. *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm* “Mitθra should be known to Zaraθuštra”, as discussed below.<sup>240</sup> Therefore, unlike Mills and Davar, the Pahlavi word is interpreted as *mihr* in the present edition.

Regarding the Avestan phrase *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm*, Geldner (1886-1896: I, 39 and

<sup>239</sup> I discuss the diacritic mark of the [d] pronunciation in my unpublished MA dissertation Khanizadeh (2013: 51-52).

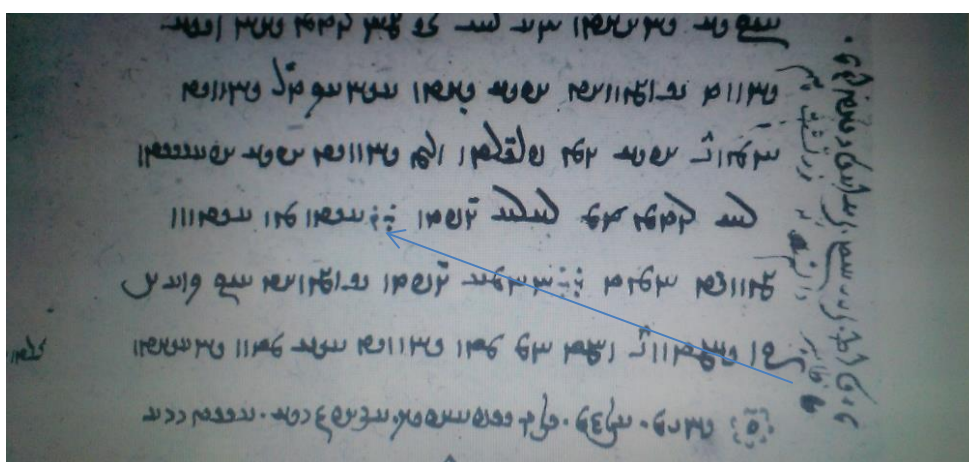
<sup>240</sup> Analysing <sup>2</sup>*zan* “to know”, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1559-1660, fn. 4) also mentions that *ān paydāg kū-š šnāxt* (see Y 9.1 line 14 in the present edition) corresponds to *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm*. It seems that in the Pahlavi commentary, *ka hōm mad būd ā-š mihr šnāsēd* is itself a gloss to *mihrō upāit zardušt ān paydāg kū-š šnāxt* corresponding to *\*miθrō upāit zaraθuštrəm* and *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm*, respectively.



39 fn. 7) omits the phrase in his edition but notes that the Yasna Sāde manuscript P6<sup>241</sup> has *miθrō.ziiāṭ*. However, he considers the manuscript as ‘without the value of text criticism’ (Geldner 1896: Prolegomena, xii). Likewise, Josephson (1997: 41) and Pirart (2004: 59) delete the Avestan phrase in their editions of Y 9.1.

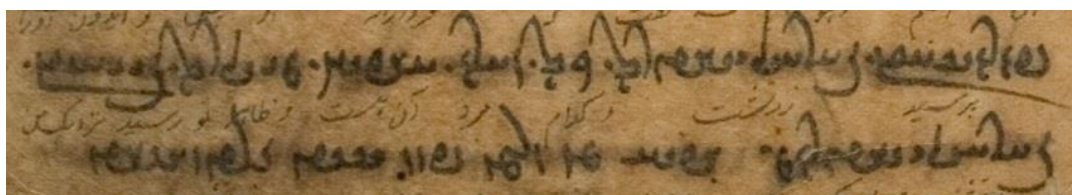
While the position of the phrase is not fixed, *zaiiāṭ* is spelled differently in codices which write the Avestan phrase. The scribe of Pt4 writes *miθrō ziiāṭ zaraθuštrəm* in the margin and probably marks its place in the main text (fol 54r line 16) before *ast kē ēdōn gōwēd hād ohrmazd guft ēstād* by the inverted “?” appearing before *ast*:

Figure 14. The suggested place for the Avestan phrase in YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54r line 16).



G14 and T6 write the variant *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrəm* at the end of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1c following *ā-š mihr šnāsēd*. In F2, the Avestan phrase *miθrō ziiāṭ zaraθuštrəm*, following *kō narə ahī* (F2 *ahe*), is incorporated into the Avestan original:

Figure 15. YIrP F2 (fol. 51r line 12).



By contrast, the Avestan text is absent in YIrP Mf4, T55b; YIndP J2, K5 and M1. As regards *z(a)iiāṭ*, Pt4 and F2 read *ziiāṭ* in contrast to *zaiiāṭ* in G14 and T6. A comparison between the the Avestan text of the Sāde manuscripts shows that it is absent in the Iranian

<sup>241</sup> P6 is not available on the website of the Avesta Digital Archive.

Sāde MZK4 ML15284,<sup>242</sup> F3A,<sup>243</sup> and ML15285<sup>244</sup>. In the Indian Sāde manuscripts B3<sup>245</sup> (fol. 31v) K11A<sup>246</sup> (fol. 45r) L17<sup>247</sup> (fol. 46r), the phrase is attested as *miθrō zaiiāt zaraθuštrām*, *miθrō ziiāt zaraθuštrām* and *miθrō ziiāt zaraθuštrām*, respectively, in margin while its place is marked after the Avestan *kō narə ahi* in the main text by the “Λ” and “v” signs. For example, the place of the phrase is probably shown by “Λ” and “v” in fol. 31v line 7 of the manuscript B3:

Figure 16. YIndS B3 (fol. 31v).



In the Indian Sāde manuscripts Bh5<sup>248</sup> (fol. 35v lines 2-4) and G97<sup>249</sup> (fol. 38r lines 7-8), the phrase is written as *maiθrō zīāt zaraθuštrām* and *məθrō ziiāt zaraθuštarām*, respectively, in the main text after Av. *kō narə ahi*. It seems that the phrase is borrowed from a lost Avestan text because:

1) As stated above, while the Avestan quotation is absent in some manuscripts, its place

<sup>242</sup> The date of completion is unknown but it must be completed before AY 1192, or 1823 CE (Hintze 2012a: 246).

<sup>243</sup> The manuscript completed in AY 1247, or 1878 CE (Hintze 2012a: 247).

<sup>244</sup> The manuscript has no colophon but it must be completed before AY 1262, or 1893 CE. (Hintze 2012a: 247).

<sup>245</sup> Although the manuscript is undated, it seems to be the oldest known Yasna Sāde manuscript (Hintze 2012: 250).

<sup>246</sup> The manuscript contains the Yasnā Sāda, Sīrōza and Visperad Sāde. According to its Sanskrit colophon, the Visperad was completed in AY 1030, or 1661 CE (Hintze 2012a: 248).

<sup>247</sup> According to its Persian colophon, the manuscript was completed in AY 925, or 1556 CE (Hintze 2012a: 247-248).

<sup>248</sup> An undated manuscript without the colophon (Hintze 2012a: 250).

<sup>249</sup> The year of the completion is illegible (Hintze 2012a: 250).

is not fixed among the manuscripts writing it.

2) While the sentence seems not to be an integral part of the Avestan original, a detailed description of the meeting of Zardušt and Mihr is attested in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1, corresponding to the Avestan phrase. As regards the Pahlavi version, the long commentary of Y 9.1 shows the features of proliferativity which is the scholastic intention to include inconsistent texts.<sup>250</sup>

Therefore, following the base text K5, the Avestan phrase is not employed in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1 in the present edition. However, as it seems that the phrase corresponds to *ān paydāg kū-š šnāxt* and *ā-š mihr šnāsēd* which are part of the commentary section occurring after the Pahlavi translation *kē mard hē*, it is placed at the end of the Avestan version of Y 9.1c after *kō narə ahī*, in the brackets.

As far as the scholarly translations are concerned, reading *ziiāṭ*, Pirart (2004: 322) edits it as the compound *miθrō.ziiāṭ*. He interprets the form as the abl. sg. of *miθrō.ziiā-* “*qui prive Miθra (de la part sacrificielle)*”.<sup>251</sup> In his view, the second term of the compound is from the root *ziiā* “to damage”. Pirart (2004: 59, fn. 11) also translates *miθrō ziiāṭ zaraθuštaraṃ* as “*loin de celui qui prive Miθra (de la part sacrificielle qui lui revient) á Zaraduštra*”.<sup>252</sup> Interpreting *Miθra* of IE \**mei* “to exchange”, according to him, the Avestan sentence also means “*loin de celui qui fait dévier l’échange (que le rituel établit entre les mondes) á Zaraduštra*”<sup>253</sup> (Pirart 2004: 59, fn. 11). He also compares *miθrō.ziiā-* with the same stem occurring in Yt 10.82:

Yt 10.82 *yeṇhe hazarəm yaoxštinəm*  
*fradaṇaṭ ahurō mazdā*  
*baēuuarə dōiθranəm vīdōiθre*  
*āaṭ ābiiō dōiθrābiiō*  
*aiβiiasca yaoxštibiiō*  
*spasiieiti miθrō.ziiāṇ*  
*miθrō.drujəma ...*

On whom Ahura Mazda a thousand perceptions,  
 conferred  
 (and) ten thousand eyes for seeing all-round,  
 Then, because of these eyes  
 and perceptions  
 he spots the infringer of the

<sup>250</sup> For proliferativity see Cabezon (1998: 5).

<sup>251</sup> “one who deprives *Miθra* (of the sacrificial share)”.

<sup>252</sup> “far from who deprives *Miθra* (of the sacrificial part which belonged to him) to *Zaraθuštara*”.

<sup>253</sup> “far from who diverts the exchange (which the ritual establishes between the worlds) to *Zaraθuštara*”.

contract and the man false to the contract ...<sup>254</sup>

Apart from Yt 10.82, the compound *miθrō.ziiā-* also occurs in Y 61.2 as the infringer of contract:

Y 61.3 ... *hamistaiiaēca nižbərətaiiaēca*  
*miθrō.ziiqmca miθrō.drujəmca*

... (we encourage Ahuna Vairiia, Asha Vahišta, Yeḡhē Hātəm and Dahmā Āfritiš) to suppress and to carry away the one who infringes the contract and the one who is false to the contract.<sup>255</sup>

While *miθrō°* in *miθrō.ziiā-* is traditionally translated as “contract”,<sup>256</sup> Pirart leaves the reason for his interpretation of *miθra-* as the ritual exchange between (the material and spiritual) worlds undiscussed. Furthermore, *miθrō.ziiā-* is not associated with *haōma-* in the Avesta. In addition, in both Y 61.2 and Yt 10.82, the compound *miθrō.ziiā-* appears together with *miθrō.druj-*. Such is not attested in Y 9.1. It should be noted that the closest phrase to the ritual exchange and the sacrificial share of Haōma occurs in Y 11.5:

Y 11.5 *yō mqm taṭ draonō zināṭ vā*  
*trəfiāṭ vā apa vā yāsāiti*  
*yaṭ mē daṭaṭ ahurō mazdā*  
*aṣauua haṇ<sup>v</sup>harəne maṭ*  
*hizuuō hōiūmaca dōiθrəm*

Whoever damages,  
steals or takes away from me the share  
which the righteous Ahura Mazdā gave to me, both jaws  
with the tongue and the left eye.<sup>257</sup>

In the above passage, Haōma threatens those who do not give his sacrificial share, but unlike the suggested stem *miθrō.ziiā-*, the Avestan verb *zināṭ* “damages”, governing two accusatives namely *mqm* and *draonō*, takes place without *miθra-*.

From a different point of view, *miθra-* can be interpreted as the nom. sg. of *miθra-* “(deity) Miθra” which agrees with the suggestions of Haug (1862: 177, fn. 1), Spiegel (1861: 52, fn. 3), Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1659) and Gershevitch (1967: 269, note 118<sup>3</sup>). While Haug

<sup>254</sup> The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 112-113).

<sup>255</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: I, 212).

<sup>256</sup> See *AirWb.* 1186; Gershevitch (1967: 113).

<sup>257</sup> Edition and translation by Josephson (1997: 114).

(1862: 177, fn. 1) translates the Avestan sentence as “May Miθra favour Zaraθuštra”, he provides no explanation for his translation of the verb as “may favour”. Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1659, fn. 2) associates *zaiiāṭ* with the root <sup>2</sup>*zan* “to know”. It should be noted that the stem *zaiia-* cannot be attributed to the root <sup>1</sup>*zan* “to beget, to give birth” because there is no reference neither in the Avesta nor in other Zoroastrian texts that “Miθra was born to Zaraθuštra”. By contrast, Ahura Mazdā creates Miθra as the worthiest to be venerated:

Yt 10.1 *mraoṭ ahurō mazdāṣ spitamāi zaraθuštrāi*  
*āaṭ yaṭ miθrēm yim vouru.gaoiiaoitīm frādaḍqam*  
*azəm spitama āaṭ dim daḍqam*  
*avāntəm yesniiata avāntəm vahmiiata*  
*yaθa maṃciṭ yim ahurēm mazdqm*

Said Ahura Mazdā to Zaraθuštra the Spitamid:  
 ‘When I created grass-land magnate Mithra,  
 O Spitamid! I made him such in worthiness to be worshiped and prayed  
 to as myself, Ahura Mazdā’.<sup>258</sup>

Although Bartholomae analyses the verb, he does not translate the phrase but Gershevitch (1967: 269, note 118<sup>3</sup>) interprets the sentence as the active “Miθra knew Zaraθuštra”. However, apart from *miθrō zaiiāṭ zaraθuštrēm*, in other occurrences, the transitive present stem of <sup>2</sup>*zan* is formed through the attachment of the ending *nā-/n-* to the root *zan* (Kellens 1984: 179). Therefore, *zaiia-* should carry a different meaning from that of the transitive present stems *zanā-/zan-*. It is possible that *zaiia-* is the passive stem from the same root in the zero grade, to which the suffix *-iia-* is attached. Similarly, its passive counterpart *zaiia-* “to be born” from the homonymous root <sup>1</sup>*zan* “to beget, give birth” is well attested in the Avesta (*AirWb.* 1657-1658). Regarding the active ending *-ṭ*, it should be noted that the passive forms take both active and middle endings. The active ones especially appear in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. subjunctive (Kellens 1984: 129). For example:

Yt. 13. 50. *kahmāi nō taṭ dāθrēm daiiāṭ*  
*yaṭ hē aṇhaṭ x<sup>v</sup>airiiqn ajiiamnəm*  
*yauuaēca yauuaētātaēca*

To which of us will be given such an offering  
 which, while being eaten, will be undiminishable to him  
 for ever and ever<sup>259</sup>

<sup>258</sup> The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 74-75).

<sup>259</sup> Edition and translation by Hintze (2009b: 114).

In addition, although from the IE *\*ǵnh<sub>3</sub>-je/o-*<sup>260</sup>, the passive stem *\*zāiia-* is expected, the shortening of *-āiia-* > *-aiia-* occurs in the Avesta.<sup>261</sup> The subjunctive mode is also characterised by the lengthened *-a-* in *zaiiāt* which denote the meaning “should be known”.

The interpretation of *miθra-* as the deity Miθra and *zaiiāt* as “should be known” also agrees with the context of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1 which is about the meeting of Zardušt with both Hōm and Mihr. According to its Pahlavi version, *mīhrō upāit zardušt* “Mihr approached Zardušt”. Then, the text continues, explaining how Zardušt knew Mihr:

Y 9.1P *mīhrō upāit zardušt*  
*ān paydāg kū-š šnāxt*  
*ēd rāy čē ān zamān abāg yazdān wēš būd ēstād*  
*u-š yazd āšnāgtar būd*  
*hād u-š ēn fragard warm būd*  
*u-š abāyist rāy abāg hōm ul guft*  
*ast kē ēdōn gōwēd hād ohrmazd guft ēstād*  
*kū har dō ōh resēnd*  
*ka hōm mad būd ā-š mīhr šnāsēd*

“Mihr approached Zardušt”

It is clear that he knew him

since he had been with more Yazds at that time  
 and the Yazd was more known to him.

That is: He knew this chapter by heart  
 and because of his desire, he spoke with Hōm.

There is one who says thus: Yes, Ohrmazd had said  
 that: ‘They both arrive in the usual way  
 (and) when he (Hōm) had come (to Zardušt), then he knows Mihr].’

The occurrence of the name of the deity Miθra in the context of Y 9.1 could be seen in connection with god’s exercising jurisdiction over the ceremonies performed at the morning time (Boyce 1969: 27). For example:

DkM. 793.13-15. *ud gāh ī yazišn ī mīhr ī frāx gōyōd ud rāmišn xwārom mēnōy*  
*abērtar pad hāwan radīh*

And the time of the worship of Mihr of wide pastures, and of the spirit of the  
 pleasure of eating is mostly in the morning watch.<sup>262</sup>

Furthermore, the occurrence of the name of Mihr at the beginning of the Pahlavi version

<sup>260</sup> For the IE root see *IEW*. 376 and Beekes (1973: 147).

<sup>261</sup> See Hoffmann & Forssman (1996: 58, §24); de Vaan (2003: 147-149); Hintze (2014: 22); Martinez & de Vaan (2014: 11).

<sup>262</sup> My translation.

of the Hōm Yašt, when Hōm approaches Zardušt at the morning time, suggests a relation between Mihr and Hōm. Their coincidence could be explained through common features they share such as being strong, victorious and mighty smashers of the evil.<sup>263</sup> Apart from the Hōm Yašt, the term Miθra appears together with Haōma in the Mihr Yašt where Haōma worships the god:

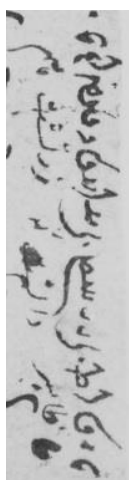
Yt. 10.88. *miθrəm vouru.gaoiiaoitīm...jayaurouuāṇhəm*  
*yim yazata haōmō*  
*frāmšiš baēšaziiō srīrō*  
*xšaθriiō zairidōiθrō*  
*barəzište paiti barəzahi*  
*haraiθiiō paiti barəzaiiā...*

Grass-land magnate Mithra we worship...  
 whom glowing Haōma  
 the healer, beautiful,  
 majestic and golden-eyed  
 worshipped on the highest peak  
 of Harā the high...<sup>264</sup>

The name of Zaraθuštra also occurs together with Miθra, where Zaraθuštra is seen invoking Ahura Mazdā, Miθra and Sraoša (Vd 19.15). In conclusion, the examined evidence favours *zaiiāṭ* as the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. of the passive stem *zaiia-* in the subjunctive mode. It also agrees with the reading of YIndS B3, the oldest Sāde manuscript at our disposal.

By contrast, the New Persian commentaries, attested in YIrP Pt4, T6 and F2, interpret the Avestan phrase in a different way:

Figure 17. YIrP P4 (fol 54r).



<sup>263</sup> For a comparison between Haōma and Miθra see Boyce (1970: 80).

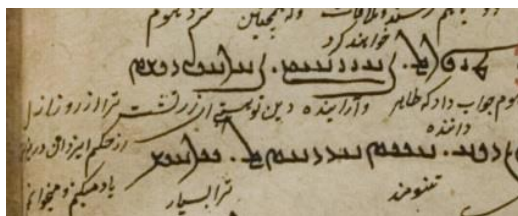
<sup>264</sup> The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 114-115).



Pt4 fol. 54r marg. *zāhir dānam ka zartušt ham*

I obviously know that I am Zartušt.<sup>265</sup>

Figure 18. YIrP T6 (fol. 43v line 5-6).

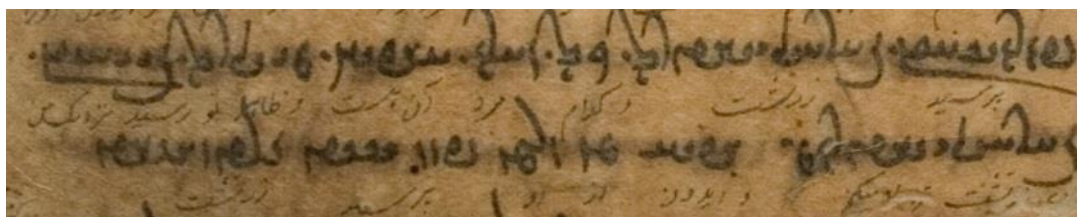


T6 fol. 43v line 5 *hōm javāb dād ka zāhir dānanda-u ārāyanda-yī dēn tō hastē ay zartušt*  
 Fol. 43v marg. *tō-rā az rōz ī azal az hokm ī īzadān dar yašt? yād mē-kunam-u mi-xvānam*

Fol. 43v line 5 Hōm answered that obviously, you are who knows and adorns the Religion, O Zartušt!

Fol. 43v marg. I remember and recite you from the beginning in the Yašt according to the order of Yazds.<sup>266</sup>

Figure 19. YIrP F2 (fol. 51r line 11-12).



F2 (fol. 51r line 11) *va zāhir nō rasīd nazdīk-ī man*

Fol. 51r line 12 ? *zartušt ? mē-kunam*

Fol. 51r line 11 and it is obvious that he approached me fresh.

Fol 51r line 12 ? I perform ? Zartušt.<sup>267</sup>

The different New Persian translations show that no consensus existed among the scribes about the meaning of the Avestan phrase. However, of the three New Persian versions quoted above, that of Pt4 is the closest to the meaning of the Avestan phrase, suggested in the present edition, but the 1<sup>st</sup> sg. ending *-am* in *danam* “I know” and the verb *ham* “I am” have no counterpart in the Avestan phrase. In addition, in all of the New Persian translations, Av. *mi9rō* is left untranslated.

<sup>265</sup> My translation.

<sup>266</sup> My translation.

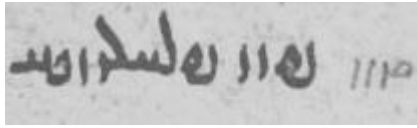
<sup>267</sup> My translation.



**13) Line 25 Y9.1dP** *hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd* “That is: The life, the body, through righteousness, was made immortal”

Phl. *tan*, in *hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd* is absent in YIrP Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b. In Pt4, although it is absent in the main text, it appears in the right margin written down by pale letters:

**Figure 20.** YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54v line 3).



The absence of Phl. *tan* “body” describing *gyān* “life”, agrees with one of the features of the corrected manuscripts according to which some commentaries or glosses are shortened or omitted if they seemed to be unnecessary.<sup>268</sup> In the present edition with the reading of the old YIndP J2, K5, *tan* is employed.

Furthermore, in YIrPs Pt4 (in marg.) Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b, the adverb *ā* “then” appears after *frārōnīh* in *hād gyān pad frārōnīh (ā) amarg kard ēstēd* in contrast to YIrP F2 and YIndPs in which the adverb *ā* is unattested. Although the adverb *ā* “then” is usually attached to an enclitic pronoun, it can also occur alone. For example:

ŠNŠ 2.20 *ka-š nasāy-ē az bērōn pad xumb-ē abāz ēstēd kē-š may andar ā xumb rēman may pāk*

If a carrion stands from outside on a jug in which is wine, then, is the jug impure (and) wine pure.<sup>269</sup>

As far as editorial judgement is concerned, the text is semantically meaningful with and without the adverb but in agreement with the old YIndP J2 and K5, *ā* is omitted in the present edition.

**14) Line 28 Y 9.1dP 28** *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg* “as far as apart from (one’s) body, everybody is immortal”

The Pahlavi phrase *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg* appears in the following context:

<sup>268</sup> For correction see section 3.1.

<sup>269</sup> My translation.

*hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd  
 nē ēdōn čiyōn awēšān kē gōšt ī jam jud  
 u-šān andar tan amarg kard ēstād  
 tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg*

That is: The life, the body, through righteousness, was made immortal,  
 not like those who devoured the meat (provided by) Jam  
 and they, bodily, had become immortal,  
 as far as apart from (one's) body, everybody is immortal.

The meaning of *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg* shows a break from its preceding *nē ēdōn čiyōn awēšān kē gōšt ī jam jud u-šān andar tan amarg kard ēstād* according to which everybody's body became immortal by eating the meat provided by Jam. Probably, *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg* denotes that after the period of immortality although *tan* "body" became mortal, other faculties of human were remained immortal.<sup>270</sup> According to Y 26.4 (=Yt 13.149), at least five immortal elements namely *ahu*- "vital strength", *daēnā*- "vision", *baodah*- "perception", *uruuan*- "soul" and *frauuaši*- "choice" can be enumerated. The reason of their immortality is that those of the deceased first teachers, hearers and righteous men and women are worshipped in the stanza.<sup>271</sup>

**15) Line 29 Y 9.1dP** *amərəza gaiiehe stūna* "The pillars of life are non-removable"

In all of the collated manuscripts, the Avestan phrase *amərəza gaiiehe stūna* is attested unanimously following the Pahlavi commentary *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg* "as far as apart from (one's) body, everybody is immortal". Regarding *stūna*, due to the existence of both *stūnā*- f. and *stūna*- m. meaning "pillar" (*AirWb.* 1608), it is either nom. sg. of the former or inst./voc. sg. or nom. pl. of *stūna*- masculine. For example, translating the phrase as "O imperishable pillar of life", Haug (1862: 177 and 177, fn. 2) interprets *stuna* as the voc. sg. declension of *stūna*-:

*yim azəm vīspahe aṇhēuš  
 astuuatō sraēštəm dādarəsa  
 x<sup>v</sup>ahe gaiiehe x<sup>v</sup>anuuatō aməšahe  
 [amərəza gaiiehe stūna]*

Who appearest to me

<sup>270</sup> The period of immortality is considered as 300 and 150 years by MX 61.18 and the Pahlavi version of Vd. 2.41, respectively. For Jam See Skjærvø (2012: 501-522).

<sup>271</sup> For human faculties in Zoroastrianism see Shaked (1994: 141-145).

The finest in the whole material world,  
 having such a brilliant, immortal form of your own  
 [O imperishable pillar of life]

However, Haug's association with the Avestan original is problematic because the function of the Avestan quotation in the Pahlavi version is to substantiate the Pahlavi translation or commentary. For example:

Vd 1.18P. *pānzdahom az gyāgān ud rōstāgān ā-m pahlom frāz brēhēnīd*  
*man kē ohrmazd ham*  
*kē haft hindūgān*  
*[u-š haft hindūgān ēd kū*  
*sar xwadāy haft ast*  
*ēd-iz, nē gōwam kū haft rōd*  
*čē ān az abestāg paydāg*  
*haca ušastara hiṇduua auui daošatarəm hiṇdūm*  
*ast kē ēdōn gōwēd*  
*har kišwar-ē ēk ast] ...*

Then, I fashioned forth the fifteenth of places and settlements as the best,  
 I who am Ohrmazd,  
 which is Haft-Hindūgān.  
 [And being Haft-Hindūgān is this  
 (the number) of chiefs is seven.  
 This is also I do not say that it has Seven-Rivers.  
 For, that is known from the Avesta:  
*From the down-side river to the evening-side river.*  
 There is one who says:  
 One (chief) is for each region] ...<sup>272</sup>

Therefore, according to the context of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1, it seems that *stūnā*- “pillar” should be related to *tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg*. As discussed in Y 9.1 commentary 14, the Pahlavi phrase denotes that after the period of immortality although *tan* “body” became mortal, the other faculties of human were remained immortal. As a result, *stūna* is taken as the nom. pl. of *stūna*- m. “pillar” in the context of Y 9.1.

While *gaiiehe* is obviously gen. sg. of *gaiia*- “life”, the meaning of *amərəza* is debated. Haug (1862: 177, fn. 2) translates it as “imperishable”. Although Haug does not explain his translation, it should probably be similar to Bartholomae's explanation as discussed below. By contrast, Darmesteter (1898: 258) translates *amərəza* and the phrase by conjecture as “marrowless” and “the column of life [made] marrowless”, respectively, but he adds no

<sup>272</sup> The text is after Moazami (2014: 40, 41 and 41 fn. 3).

comment to his translation. He also leaves the reason of the incorporation of the verb “made” into his translation undiscussed. In addition, as mentioned by Davar (1904: 39, fn. 4<sup>7</sup>), the meaning does not fit the context. Reading *aməṛəza* as *aməṛəca*, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 143) interprets *aməṛəca* as nom. pl. of *aməṛək-* “indestructible”. However, his suggestion is unlikely because *aməṛəca* is absent in manuscripts. Furthermore, *k<sup>u</sup>* in IE. \**melk<sup>u</sup>* > Av. *marək* only develops to either /k/ or its allophone [c] before the front vowel *e* or *i* in Avestan.<sup>273</sup> The phrase is left untranslated in Mills’s (1903c: 315) work. Translating *aməṛəza* as “unsustained”, Davar (1904: 29 and 29, fn. 4<sup>7</sup>) compares the phrase with Yt 10.71 *mərəzuca stūnō gaiiehe* in which *mərəzu-* is rendered by him as “stain, filth”. He also compares *aməṛəza* with the Pahlavi interpretation of *mərəzu-*, or *āhōg* “sin, defect” (Davar’s translation), in the compound *mərəzu.jīti-*, occurring in Vd. 19.26 and 29. In contrast to Davar’s suggestion, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1174), interprets *mərəzu-* in the context of Yt 10.71 as “vertebra; neck and back” (*AirWb.* 1173-1174). The meaning of *mərəzu-* as “vertebra” is also confirmed by Henning (1942a: 242). Likewise, Gershevitch (1967: 106-107) translates Yt 10.71 *yauuata aēm nijaiṇti mərəzuča stūnō gaiiehe mərəzuča xā uštānahe* as “until he smashed even the vertebrae, the pillars of life even the vertebrae, the springs of vitality”:

Yt 10.71. *yō frqštacō haməṛəḡāda*  
*upa.haxtō ā.manəḡha*  
*haḡra nairiia ḡm.varəta*  
*stija nijaiṇti haməṛəḡā*  
*naēda maniiete jaṇnvā*  
*naēda cim xənqəm sadaiieiti*  
*yauuata aēm nijaiṇti*  
*mərəzuca stūnō gaiiehe*  
*mərəzuca xā uštānahe*

as he (= Vərəḡraṇna = boar) catches up with the opponent(s)  
 beset by passion,  
 simultaneously by manly valour,  
 he knocks them (lit. opponents) down with a toss (of his head).  
 He does not even think he has struck,  
 nor has he the impression he is hitting anybody,  
 until he has smashed  
 even the vertebrae, the pillars of life  
 even the vertebrae, the springs of vitality.<sup>274</sup>

<sup>273</sup> See Hoffmann & Forssman (1996: 100); For the IE root see *LIV.* 434-435.

<sup>274</sup> The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 106-107).

Like Davar, Pirart (2004: 59, fn. 16) compares the phrase of Y 9.1 with that of Yt 10.71. Leaving the phrase untranslated, he only discusses it briefly in the footnotes. However, Pirart (2004: 59, fn. 16) rightly points out that it is difficult to connect *mərəzu-* with *amərəza*. The reason is that the development of *u-* stems to words ending in *alif*, or *ʾ*, only occurs in Middle Iranian. Such developments, for example Av. *nasu-* > Phl. *nasā*, should be sought in the lengthened *-ā-*, found in the declension of *u-* stems like nom. pl. *nasāuuō* rather than a shift from *u-* to *a-* stems.<sup>275</sup> Therefore, the development of Av. *mərəzu-* > Av. *mərəza* is unlikely.

There are also other factors which cast doubt on the semantic relation between two phrases attested in Y 9.1 and Yt 10.71. For example, *stūnō* in Yt 10.71 is acc. pl. of *stun-*, related to the preceding verb *nijaiṇti*.<sup>276</sup> By contrast, as mentioned above, *stūna* is either nom. sg. of its feminine stem or inst./voc. sg. or nom. pl. of *stūna-* masculine. Furthermore, in contrast to *mərəzu* in Yt 10.71, *amərəza* is negated by the negation prefix *a* and if it is associated with *mərəzu-*, its meaning “invertebrate, without vertebra, or non-neck” would be semantically problematic. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is only the lexical resemblance between *amərəza* and *mərəzu*.

While relating *amərəza* to *mərəzu-* is unlikely, the plausible stem with which *amərəza* can be associated is *amərəzā-*. Considering the suggested stem, *amərəzā-* would be a hapax legomenon of the root *marəz* to which the negation suffix *a* and the primary suffix *a-* are attached. The formation follows the Indo-Iranian word formation rule according to which the zero grade of *a-* stems, making adjective, occurs mainly in roots with the short or long vowels *i*, *u*, *r* (*AiGr.* II 2, 69, §22-22a). However, it should be noted that although such formations in zero grade often denote the sense of either an agent noun or a present participle (*AiGr.* II 2, 69-73, §22b), in the context of Y 9.1, as translated by Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 143) and Haug (1862: 177, fn. 2), it should be interpreted as an adjective denoting capability.

One of the meanings of IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>merǵ* > AV *marəz* is “to touch, to rub”<sup>277</sup> but from the semantic point of view, *amərəza-* from the root *marəz* “to touch, to rub” is problematic. The reason is that *amərəza gaiiehe stuna* means “the pillars of life are non-touchable”. Moreover, the verbal stem *marəza-* in Yt 10.95 and Yt 14.21 means “to sweep across”<sup>278</sup>

<sup>275</sup> For a discussion on the development of OIr. *-a-* stems to MIr *-a* see (Gershevitch 1967: 221, §71<sup>6</sup>).

<sup>276</sup> See *AirWb.* 143, 1608; Gershevitch (1967: 107).

<sup>277</sup> See *AirWb.* 1152-1153; *EWAia.* 324-326; Cheung (2007: 180-182); *LIV.* 280-281.

<sup>278</sup> For Yt 10.95 see Gershevitch 1967: 120-121. In Yt 14.21, *Vərəθraṇa* sweeps across the canyons of mountains, (he) sweeps across the summits of mountains, (he) sweeps across the depths of valleys, (he) sweeps across the tops of plants.

which again disagrees semantically with the context of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1. The other possibility is to consider another meaning of IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>merǵ*, or “to wipe (off), to clean, to pick”, which appears for example in Ved. *mārṣti* “s/he wipes, s/he cleans”, Oss. *mærzyn/mærzun* “to wipe, to clean”, Kurd. Sor. *mālīn/māl* “to wipe off” or Gr. ἀμέργω “I pick”.<sup>279</sup> It seems that the semantic component of “to remove (something by touching or scrubbing)” is present in all uses of this verb. Furthermore, the meaning “to remove” is also corroborated by the corresponding Sanskrit root *marj* which can also means “to sweep away, to remove” (McDonell 1893: 233). With this interpretation, *amərəza-* in the context of the last Pahlavi commentary of Y 9.1 means as follows:

*hād gyān tan pad frārōnīh amarg kard ēstēd*  
*nē ēdōn čiyōn awēšān kē gōšt ī jam jud*  
*u-šān andar tan amarg kard ēstād*  
*tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg*  
*amərəza gaiiehe stūna*  
*tā be az tan har kas-ē amarg*  
*amərəza gaiiehe stūna*

That is: The life, the body, through righteousness, was made immortal,  
 not like those who devoured the meat (provided by) Jam  
 and they, bodily, had become immortal,  
 as far as apart from (one’s) body, everybody is immortal,  
*[The pillars of life are non-removable]*.

In association with the preceding Pahlavi commentary, it denotes metaphorically that although the *gyān* “life” of people became mortal after committing the offence of eating the meat provided by Jam, it is impossible to take the other faculties. Therefore, since the translation of *amərəza* as “non-removable” rather than “non-touchable” better fits the context of Y 9.1, the former is chosen in the present edition.

As far as the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan phrase is concerned, it is left untranslated in the manuscripts with the exception of the G14, T6 and F2 in which *amərəza gaiiehe stūna* is followed by the Pahlavi translation and commentary *amarg kard jān [ī xwēš rāy] pad stāyišn [ī ohrmazd]* “he made [his] life immortal by praising [Ohrmazd]”. It is evident that because of the postposition *rāy*, expressing the object of the sentence in New Persian,<sup>280</sup> the Pahlavi phrase is late. Furthermore, *amərəza* and *stūna* are misinterpreted as *amarg*

<sup>279</sup> See EWAia. 324-326; Cheung (2007: 180-182); LIV. 280-281.

<sup>280</sup> For *rāy* in Middle Persian see Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 354, §753); Skjærvø (2009a: 233); Windfuhr (2009: 33-34).

“immortal” and *stāyišn* “praising”, respectively. In F2 (fol 51v line 15) and T6 (fol. 43v line 13), the following interlinear New Persian translation of the Pahlavi phrase is also provided:

وبی‌مرگ کردی (کرده: F2) جان خویش را از ستایش کرد (کردن: F2) هورمزد  
*va bē marg kardē (karda) jān xvēš rā az stāyišn kard (kardan) hormazd*  
 and made your life (F2 his life) immortal because of worshipping Ohrmazd.<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> My translation.

## 4.2 Y 9.2

**1 (Y 9.2aA)** *āaṭ mē aēm paitiiaoxta*  
**2** *haōmō ašauua dūraošō*  
**3 (Y 9.2bA)** *azəm ahmi zaraθuštra*  
**4** *haōmō ašauua dūraošō*  
**5 (Y 9.2cA)** *ā mąm yāsaṇ<sup>v</sup>ha spitama*  
**6** *frā mąm hunauuaṇ<sup>v</sup>ha x<sup>v</sup>arətōē*  
**7 (Y 9.2dA)** *aoi mąm staomaine stūiði*  
**8** *yaθa mā aparaciṭ*  
**9** *saošiiantō stauuqn*

**1 (Y 9.2aA)** Thereupon answered me,  
**2** the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult:  
**3 (Y 9.2bA)** ‘I am, O Zaraθuštra,  
**4** the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult.  
**5 (Y 9.2cA)** Hold me, O Spitama,  
**6** press me out for drinking.  
**7 (Y 9.2dA)** Praise me for praising,  
**8** like subsequent  
**9** saviours will praise me.

**1 (Y 9.2aP)** *ō man ōy passōx guft*  
**2** *hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*  
**3** *[hād dūrōših ēd kū ōš az ruwān ī mardōmān dūr darēd*  
**4** *rōšn guft*  
**5** *hād aōših pad hōm bawēd]*  
**6 (Y 9.2bP)** *an ham zardušt*  
**7** *hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*  
**8 (Y 9.2cP)** *ān ī any man hun ō xwarišn [xwaišn rāy be hun]*  
**9 (Y 9.2dP)** *abar man pad stāyišn stāy [andar yazišn]*  
**10** *čiyōn man pas-iz*  
**11** *sūdōmand stāyēnd [ā-š ān ī tō tō rāy]*

**1 (Y 9.2aP)** He answered me<sup>1</sup>  
**2** the righteous Hōm who averts perdition<sup>2</sup>,  
**3** [that means: Averting perdition is this that he keeps perdition far from the soul of men.  
**4** Rōšn said,  
**5** ‘that is<sup>3</sup> that imperishableness is through Hōm’],  
**6 (Y 9.2bP)** ‘I am, O Zardušt,  
**7** the righteous Hōm who averts perdition<sup>4</sup>.  
**8 (Y 9.2cP)** That means that press me for drinking, [for drinking, press me].<sup>5</sup>  
**9 (Y 9.2dP)** Praise me in the worship [in the Yasna ceremony<sup>6</sup>]  
**10-11** like the saviour will praise me after this. [Then, that is thine, for thee].



**1) Line 1 Y 9.2aP** *ō man ōy passōx guft* “He answered me”

While *ōy*, corresponding to Av. *aēm*, is absent in YIndP K5 and M1, it appears after *man* in the K5 sister manuscript, or J2, and YIrPs. Although it is absent in the base text K5, in agreement with the Pahlavi word-for-word translation technique of the Avestan original, *ōy* is employed in the present edition. This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

**2) Line 2 Y 9.2aP** Phl. *dūrōš* “who averts perdition”

Interpreting Av. *dūraoša-* as “who averts perdition”, the Pahlavi commentators associated *dūr°* with Phl. *dūr* “far”:

Y 9.2a ... *dūrōših ēd kū ōš az ruwān mardōmān dūr dārēd...*

...The concept of *dūrōš* is that he keeps perdition far from the soul of men...

As the cognate of the Ved. *duróṣa-*, the Avestan word appears once in the Gāṁās (Y 32.14) but its association with Haōma is uncertain.<sup>282</sup> By contrast, in the Hōm Yašt, it is obviously the epithet of Haōma. Bartholomae translates it as “*dem das Verderben fern bleibt, der es fern hält, Todwehler*” (AirWb. 751-752). Bartholomae’s interpretation entails that the first syllable of Av. *dūraoša-* is Av. *dūra-* adj. (= Ved. *dūrā-*) ‘far’. Flattery & Schwartz (1989: Part II, 130) accept this interpretation and argue that the short vowel, /u/ in the Sanskrit word *duróṣa-*, is the result of popular etymology. As a result, they translate it as “averting perdition” which is similar to the interpretation of the Pahlavi commentators. The problem is that while in the Sāde and Pahlavi manuscripts, short and long vowels are frequently confused, the vowel quantity is usually faithfully preserved in the Vedic sources (Hoffmann 1987: 51).

According to another explanation suggested by Gershevitch (1974: 45-76), the first element of the compound is to be compared with the Baluchi word *dōr* “pain”. Therefore, the compound would mean “pain-killer”, whereby *dōr* would function as the object of *aoša* “killing, destroying”. Reconstructing the first element as *\*dūra-*, Bailey (1936: 95-97) suggests that it is derived from *dvar* “to run” according to which *dūraoša-* means “from whom destruction flees”. However, *dūraoša-* is trisyllabic in the Gāṁās and with all of the

<sup>282</sup> For a discussion on *dūraoša-* in Y 32.14, see section 1.2.

mentioned suggestions, *dura* '(a)ušəm would be tetrasyllabic.<sup>283</sup> Bailey (1957: 41-59) also argues that /u/ in *dūra* was lengthened because of the confusion between the short and long quantities /u/ and /ū/. He suggests that the word comes from the verbal base *dur-* "to pierce" attached to the double suffix Old Iranian \**auša-* (Av. *aoša-*; Skt. *ṣa-*) meaning "pungent, sour, pained, causing pain". As a parallel example of the suffix *auša-* in the Iranian languages, he refers to Khot. *-ūš*, however, the existence of the Khotanese suffix was questioned by Degener (1989: 182) according to whom it may have been extracted from one or two words which happened to end in this sequence of sounds. The quantity of /r/ in *dur* can also be compared with the Sandhi variant *dur* from Ir. \**dus* in Vedic. However, this is not found in Avestan, where we only have the variants *duš* and *duž*.<sup>284</sup> According to Hoffmann (cited in Humbach 1957: 300), the form *dūraōša-* results by dissimilation of \**duž-auša-*. It should be noted that although a Sandhi variant *dur* is not found elsewhere in Avestan, it could in fact be attested in Middle Iranian: cf. Bactrian *λρoυμiνo*, *δρoυμiνo*, *δδρoυμiνo* [*drumin*] noun "enemy" < \**duš-manyu-*, Av. *dušmainiiu-* (Gershevitch, 1979: 65 note a), where Gershevitch considers Indian influence: 'the fact that in Indian the prefix regularly is *dur* may also have played a part'. The variant *dur* could also be present in Manichaean Bactrian *drwfr* [*drufarr*] adj. "unfortunate" (prefix *drw-* "bad" = *λρoυ-*, *δρoυ-* in *λρoυμiνo*, *δρoυμiνo* "enemy", cf. Parthian *dwšfr* 'unfortunate') (Sims-Williams 2009: 245-268) and *λρoυμiνo/δρoυμiνo* "enemy" < *dur* + √*man* (Sims-Williams 2007: 83). Therefore, it seems that associating *dūr* with Ir. \**dus* is less problematic than the other interpretations, discussed above.

The second element *aoša-* has usually been translated by scholars as "death" or more specifically "destruction by fire".<sup>285</sup> Therefore, deriving the compound from Ir. \**dus-auša-*, the Avestan term *dūraōša-* is translated as "whose destruction is difficult" in the present edition.

### 3) Line 5 Y 9.2aP *hād* "that is"

In YIndP J2, *hād* is replaced by *ay* "that is". Although both readings are semantically meaningful, in agreement with the base text K5, *hād* is employed in the present edition.

<sup>283</sup> See Kellens (1996: 595-596); Kellens & Pirart (1990: 260). Unlike Kellens & Pirart who count the syllables of the stem, the declined form *dūraōšəm* is attested in the present commentary. The reason is that stems never occur in the texts.

<sup>284</sup> See Humbach (1957: 300).

<sup>285</sup> See Humbach (1957: 300); Kellens (1996: 595-596).

**4) Line 6-7 Y 9.2bP** *an ham zardušt hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš* “I am, O Zardušt, the righteous Hōm who averts perdition”

In Y 9.2, Av. *azəm ahmi zaraθuštra haōmō ašauua dūraošō* “I am, O Zaraθuštra, Haōma whose destruction is difficult” is translated as follows in the manuscripts:

YIrP Pt4, G14, Mf4, F2, T6, T55b:

*an (’NH)<sup>286</sup> ham zardušt hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*

I am, O Zardušt, the righteous Hōm who averts perdition.

YIndP J2, K5, M1:

*hōm (HWM)<sup>287</sup> ham zardušt hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*

(I) am Hōm, O Zardušt, the righteous Hōm who averts perdition

Dhabar (1949: 56) edits in agreement with the Iranian manuscripts, but Davar (1904: 16), Josephson (1997: 29) and Mill (1900: 519) choose the second reading. Josephson (1997: 162) compares it with Y 11.7 in which *hōm* is repeated:

Y 11.7 *ān ī ān hōm sūr [kū hōm drōn be paydāgēn]*

“about the meal of Hōm’s [Reveal Hōm’s share]”

However, the difference between the text of Y 9.2 and that of Y 11.7 is that while *an/hōm* in the former corresponds to Av. *azəm*, the repeated *hōm* in Y 11.7 occurs in the commentary. Josephson also suggests that the repeating style has parallels in Y 10.3-5 in which Phl. *rust estē* translates Y 10.3 Av. *urūdušuuā*; Y10.4 Av. *raodahe* and Y 10.5 Av. *raose*. Furthermore, the past tense is repeated in Y 10.10-12:

Y 9.10 Phl. *be dād hē* translating Av. *nidaθat*

Y 9.11 Phl. *be burd hē* translating Av. *vibarən*

Y 9.12 Phl. *be rust hē* translating Av. *viraoðahe*<sup>288</sup>

<sup>286</sup> For example: Pt4 (fol. 54v line 11)



<sup>287</sup> For example: K5 (fol. 60v line 13)




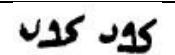
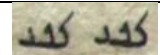

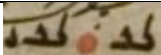
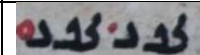
<sup>288</sup> For the Avestan and Pahlavi texts and their English translations see Josephson (1997: 91-94).

However, the examples of the repeating style in the Pahlavi translation of Y 10 are correct cognates of the Avestan original although the grammatical features of their corresponding Avestan words are expressed incorrectly. By contrast, in the Indian manuscripts, Av. *azəm* is left untranslated in Y 9.2. Elsewhere in the same publication, Josephson (1997: 153) correctly argues that Pahlavi translators' first goal was to translate the original Avestan text by employing the closest corresponding Pahlavi word and to maintain the word order of the Avesta. Furthermore, her analysis of the Pahlavi translation of the Hōm Yašt shows that while mistranslations of the Avestan grammatical forms are common in the Pahlavi version, there is no consistent erroneous translation of the Avestan words (Josephson 1997: 164). Therefore, since the first Avestan word is the nominative personal pronoun *azəm* "I", the corresponding Pahlavi word must be a translation of it. As a result, in the present edition the reading *'NH* is favoured over *hwm*. The reading of the Indian sister manuscripts J2, K5 and M1, closely related to K5, could be due to the misinterpretation of 𐭥𐭮 as 𐭥𐭮.

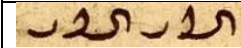
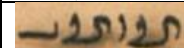
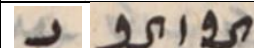
**5) Line 8 Y 9.2cP** *ān ī any man hun ō xwarišn [xwarišn rāy bē hun]* "That means that press (me) for drinking, for drinking [press me]".

In what follows the manuscripts spellings of the suggested reading *an ī any* in the present edition are shown:

a) Y IrP:

Pt4 (fol. 54v line 14)	Mf4 (p. 147 line 10)	G14 (fol. 53r line 4)	F2 (fol. 53r line 4)	T6 (fol. 44r line 8)	T55b (fol. 69r line 5)
					

b) Y IndP:

J2 (fol. 81r line 15)	K5 (fol. 60v line 15)	M1 (fol. 157r line 5-6)
		

The Pahlavi *ZK Y ZK Y* occurs with minor variations in YIrP T6 as *ZK ZK Y* and YIndP K5?, M1 as *ZK W ZK Y*. Regarding the spelling of K5? and its descendant M1, *ud* does not

fit the context of Y 9.2 from the semantic point of view:

*hōm*<sup>289</sup> *ham zardušt*  
*hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*  
*ān ud*

‘(I) am Hōm, O Zardušt,  
 the righteous Hōm who averts perdition,  
 that and/that means and.

As regards the reading of YIrP T6, it is a late manuscript of the Hōšang ī Syāwaxš-line and the descendant of G14. Therefore, it is not as important as Pt4, Mf4 and G14 in editorial judgements. Therefore, in the present edition, in agreement with the reading of J2 (sister manuscript of the base text) and YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14 and F2, *ZK Y* is employed.<sup>290</sup> This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

As far as the reading of *ZK Y ZK Y* in *ZK Y ZK Y man hun ō xwarišn [xwaišn rāy be hun]* is concerned, the first *ZK Y* should be read as *ān ī* ‘that is that’ or ‘that means’, introducing the new commentary. As far as the transcription of the second *ZK Y* is concerned, it should be noted that in addition to *ān ī*, it can also as the heterogram *ZK-ȳ* (*any*) replace *’HRN-ȳ* (*any*) in the manuscripts.<sup>291</sup> In combination with pronouns, *any* implies ‘a partly distinctive, partly emphasising sense’ (Nyberg 1974: 16). For example:

DkM. 604.7-8. *ohrmazd tō dānē any amahraspand hēm ...*  
 (Ohrmazd) thou knowst that we are (only) Amahraspands ...<sup>292</sup>

The formula *any man* has also a parallel in the following early Jewish New Persian fragment from Dandān-Uiliq:

*čōn any man pa tō u-m(ard) darum yakē kā(r)*

<sup>289</sup> For *hōm* see Y 9.2 commentary 4 *an ham zardušt hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*.

<sup>290</sup> In the editions, Mills (1900: 519) gives *ZK Y ZK Y (ān ī ān ī)*, Davar (194: 16) edits *ZK ZK Y (ān ān ī)*. However, as mentioned above, *ān ān ī* is only attested in the late YIrP T6 manuscript which was not at Davar’s disposal. By contrast, Josephson (1997: 42-43), omitting one *ZK Y*, edits it as *ān ī man* ‘mine’ according to which *ān* and *man* translate the Avestan preverb *ā* and the accusative pronoun *mām*: *ān ī man xwāhēd spitāmān [ō xwarišn rāy] be hun* ‘Fetch that which is mine, O Spitama, extract [me] for drinking’. It is obvious that Josephson’s reconstruction has no parallel in the manuscripts.

<sup>291</sup> For the reading of *ZK Y* as *any* in Pahlavi language see Salemann (*GIrPh* I/1, 294).

<sup>292</sup> My translation.

As otherwise I to you, and I have a man, one work<sup>293</sup>

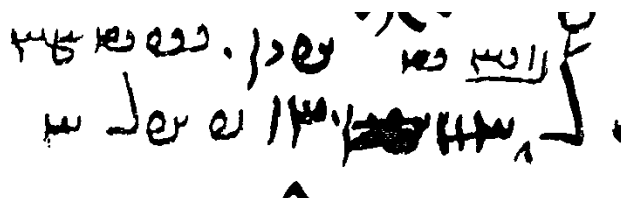
Therefore, the second heterogram is interpreted as *any* in the present edition. In addition, in YIrP Mf4?, G14, F2 and T6, the following commentary-translation appears after *ān ī any man (ō)*:

... [*kē tis-ē*] *xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy* ...

... [for whom, (who) wants a thing], O Spitāmān and for my sake ... .

In YIrP Mf4 the phrase appears corruptly in the text above the crossed out *hun hun* (in Avestan script) in p. 147 line 10, but *kē tis-ē* and the vocative particle *ay* “O” are absent and the reading of 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 in the margin is obscure:

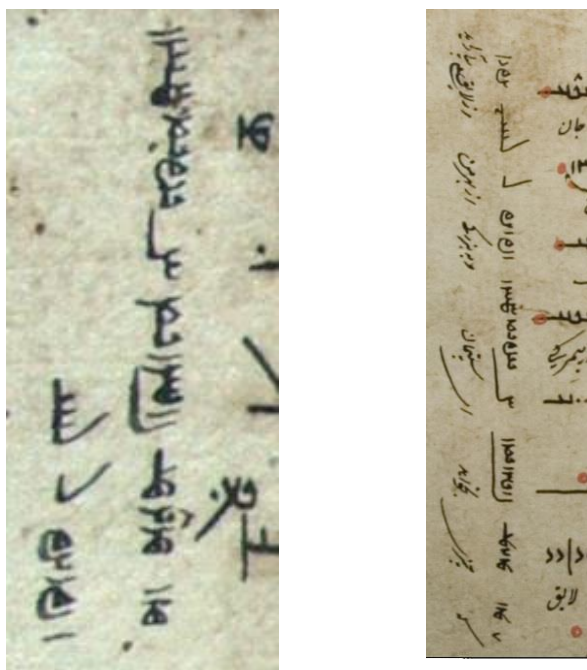
Figure 21. YIrP Mf4 (p. 147 lines 9-11).



In YIrP G14 and T6, the Pahlavi phrase [*kē tis-ē*] *xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy* (T6 *hun*) occurs in the left margin of fol. 53r and fol. 44r, respectively:

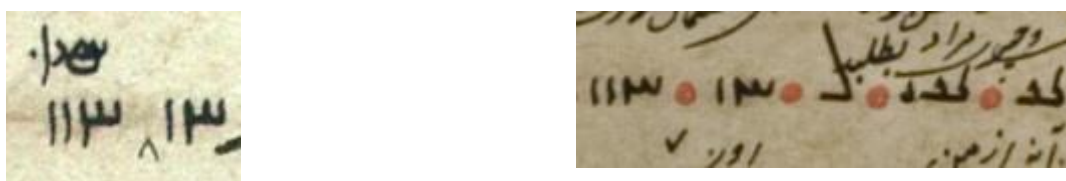
<sup>293</sup> See Utas (1968: 129-130).

Figure 22. Left: YIrP G14 (fol. 53r); left: YIrP T6 (fol. 44r).



The marginal phrase is probably associated with *ān* (*ī*) *any man* *ō* in the main text by “^” in G14 (fol. 53r line 5) and “v” in T6 (fol. 44r line 8), corresponding to “v” in its margin, respectively:

Figure 23. Left: YIrP G14 (fol. 53r line 5); right: YIrP T6 (fol. 44r line 8).

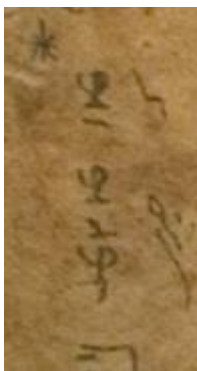


In F2, the phrase *[kē tis-ē] xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy* is written by pale letters in the left margin of fol. 52r, marked by the asterisk (\*). Likewise, its place in the text is probably marked by the same pale asterisk (\*) in fol. 52r line 7 after *ān ī any man*:

Figure 24. YIrP F2 (fol. 52r. line 7).



**Figure 25. YIrP F2 (fol. 52r). An asterisk appears at the beginning of *[kē tis-ē] xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy*.**



The Pahlavi *xwāhēd ay spitāmān* and *frāz man rāy* corresponds to Av. *ā ... yāsaṇ<sup>v</sup>ha spitama* and *frā mąm*, respectively:

Y 9.2A *ā mąm yāsaṇ<sup>v</sup>ha spitama*  
*frā mąm hunauuaṇ<sup>v</sup>ha x<sup>v</sup>arətāē*

YIrP Mf4? G14 F2 T6: Y 9.2P *ān ī any man [ō kē tis-ē] xwāhēd ay spitāmān*  
*ud frāz man rāy hun xwarišn xwaišn [rāy be hun]*

In addition, in the manuscripts G14, F2 and T6, *any man* “for me” is glossed by the commentary *kē tis-ē* “to whom (who wants) a thing”, following *man ō*.<sup>294</sup> In the present edition, the mentioned commentary-translation is not employed. The reason is that they are absent in the old YIndP J2, K5 and YIrP Pt4 which is related to G14, T6.<sup>295</sup> Moreover, with regard to Mf4, either the corresponding corrupt and incomplete text is added by a second hand after crossing out the previously written words *hun hun* or the scribe was uncertain about the authenticity of the Pahlavi translation-commentary or while he did not know it by heart, it was also absent in his source. It should also be noted that as discussed in section 2.1 and 3.1, the Pahlavi text of the YIrPs, especially that of G14 and T6 are corrected.

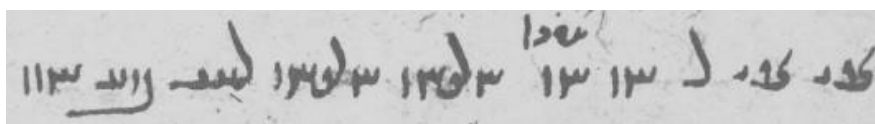
Omitting *[kē tis-ē] xwāhēd ay spitāmān ud frāz man rāy*, YIrP Pt4 and its closely related T55b write ‘w’ before *hwn* (*hun*):

<sup>294</sup> As discussed, the reading of Mf4 is obscure.

<sup>295</sup> See section 2.1.



Figure 26. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 54v line 14).



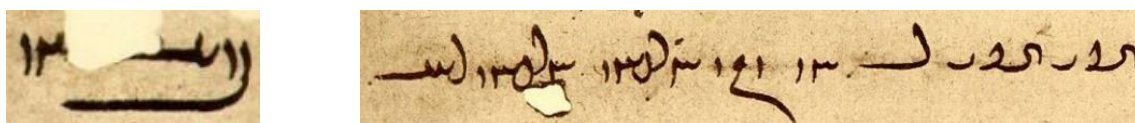
Pt4 Y 9.2. fol. 54v line 14. *ān ī any man ōh ('w') hun (hun: Spuerscript) xwarišn xwarišn rāy be hun*

“That means, press me in the usual way, drinking, for drinking press me.

The Pahlavi reading *hun* “press” is confirmed by the superscript *hun* written in the Avestan script. Therefore, the preceding 'w' should be considered as the particle *ōh* “in the usual way” rather than the preposition *ō* “to” because while the occurrence of the preposition *ō* before *hun* is semantically meaningless and ungrammatical, *ōh* always takes place before verbs.<sup>296</sup>

In YInd J2, the heterogram *KN* is preceded by the Pahlavi *𐭥𐭮* which can be transliterated as either 'w' for the preposition *ō* or *hwn* for the 2<sup>nd</sup> ipt. *hun* “press”:

Figure 27. Right: YIndP J2 (fol. 81r line 15); left: YIndP J2 (fol. 81v line 1).



J2 Y 9.2 fol 81r line 15 *ān ī any man ō (or hun) ? KN xwarišn xwarišn rāy fol 81v line 1 be hun*

If the preceding word to *KN* (*ōh*?) is considered as the verb *hwn* (*hun*), the occurrence of the particle *ōh* after *hun* is unlikely. Moreover, if *𐭥𐭮* is transcribed as *ō*, the occurrence of *ō ? ōh* is semantically meaningless. However, as a corrupt heterogram, *KN* can represent the preposition *ō*. The suggestion is supported by the reading of its sister manuscript YIndP K5 together with YIndP M1 in which *KN* is replaced by the heterogram 'L representing *ō*:

Figure 28. YIndP K5 (fol. 60v line 15).



<sup>296</sup> For *ōh* see Skjærvø (2010: 183).

K5. Y 9.2 fol. 60v line 15. *ān ī any man ō (or hun) ō xwarišn rāy bē hun*

Therefore, it is certain that according to K5, 𐭮𐭩𐭮 should be read as *hun* because while the meaningless sequence *ō ō* has no corresponding word in the Avestan original, *hun* renders imperative *hunauuaṇha* “press”. It should be noted that in J2, *KN*, corresponding to ‘L’ in K5, is written as 𐭮𐭩𐭮 rather than 𐭮𐭩𐭮. The first Pahlavi stroke (𐭮) could have been originally the final stroke of the preceding word *hwn’*. As a result, the Pahlavi sentence in YIndP J2, K5, M1 is transcribed as follows:

*ān ī any man hun ō xwarišn xwarišn (deest K5 M1) rāy bē hun*

That means, press me for drinking, press for drinking.

In conclusion, although the reading of the both YIrP (*ōh hun*) and IndYP (*hun ō*) can be adopted in the present edition, the reading of the Indian manuscripts, or *hun ō* is preferred because they represent the oldest collated manuscripts, written down before the eighteenth century during which the Pahlavi texts were corrected.<sup>297</sup> Moreover, apart from YIndP K5 and M1 in which *xwarišn* appears once, in the other collated manuscripts, *xwarišn* is repeated.<sup>298</sup>

Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2: *xwarišn xwarišn rāy*

K5 M1: *xwarišn*

In the present edition, unlike the reading of the base text K5, *xwarišn* is repeated because it forms the repetition style with *ān ī any* in *ān ī any ... xwarišn xwarišn*. It should be noted that the repetition style has parallels in the Hōm Yašt (Josephson 1997: 162). Therefore, in agreement with the reading of the majority of manuscripts, especially J2 (the sister manuscript of K5), *xwarišn xwarišn* is employed in the present edition. This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

As far as the translation of the Avestan verb is concerned, Josephson (1997: 43) translates *ā ... yāsaṇha* as “fetch” which is based on Bartholomae’s suggestion (*AirWb*.

<sup>297</sup> See section 3.1.

<sup>298</sup> The preliminary results show that IndPY M1 descends from IndPY K5.

1288-1289) of the preverb *ā* added to the root *yās* “to desire, to want”. However, Bartholomae’s suggestion of the verbal root *yās* has been challenged and it is widely accepted now that the present stem *ā ... yāsa-* is the inchoative formation of the root *yam* “to hold”.<sup>299</sup> By contrast, the Pahlavi version of YIrP G14, F2 and T6 translates *ā ... yāsa* “ha” by *ān ī... xwāhed* according to which, as stated above, the preverb *ā* is represented by *ān ī* “that means” and *xwāstan* “to desire, to want” translates *yāsa-* “to hold”.

#### 6) Line 9 Y 9.2dP *yazišn* “Yasna ceremony”

Instead of *yčšn* (*yazišn*), YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b write *ycšn* (*īzišn*) which shows the late? *ya-* > *ī-* development. Another similar example is the development of *yazd* to *īzad*.<sup>300</sup>

<sup>299</sup> For Av. *yāsa-* see Kellens (1984: 157-158); Hintze (1994a: 254).

<sup>300</sup> See Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 139, §252).

### 4.3 Y 9.3

1 (Y 9.3aA) *āaṭ aoxta zaraθuštrō*  
 2 *nəmō haōmāi*  
 3 (Y 9.3bA) *kasə θwqm*  
 4 *paoiriiō haōma mašiiō*  
 5 *astuuaiθiiāi hunūta gaēθiiāi*  
 6 *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuuī*  
 7 *ciṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*

1 (Y 9.3aA) Thereupon, Zaraθuštra said:  
 2 ‘Reverence to Haōma.  
 3-5 (Y 9.3bA) Who, O Haōma, as the first mortal pressed you for the material creature?  
 6 What reward was granted to him?  
 7 What boon came to him?’

1 (Y 9.3aP) *u-š guft zardušt*  
 2 *kū namāz ō hōm*  
 3 (Y 9.3bP) *kē tō*  
 4 *fradom hōm az mardōmān*  
 5 *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē*  
 6 *az ān tarsagāhīh kard*  
 7 *[ān nēkīh kū tā-m bawād]*  
 8 *čē ō ōy mad ābādīh*

1 (Y 9.3aP) and Zardušt said  
 2 that: ‘Reverence to Hōm,<sup>1</sup>  
 3-5 (Y 9.3bP) who, as the first one, O Hōm, among men pressed you<sup>2</sup> in the material world<sup>3</sup>,  
 6 from that respect was shown<sup>4</sup>  
 7 [that goodness so that it will be mine],  
 8 what prosperity came to him?’

#### 1) Line 2 Y 9.3aP *kū namāz ō hōm* “that: Reverence to Hōm”

As regards the preposition *ō*, it expresses the Avestan dative case in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta. However, it is absent in the translation of dat. sg. *haōmāi* in YIrPs in which *hōm* occurs alone. By contrast, in YIndPs, Av. *haōmāi* is rendered by Phl. *ō hōm* “to Hōm”. It appears as *ō hōm* in the editions of Mills (1900: 519), Davar (1904: 16) and Josephson (1997: 44) whereas Dhabhar (1949: 57), omitting *ō*, writes *hōm*.

As far as YIrPs are concerned, in T6 (fol. 44r line 12, 13), both Av. *haōmāi* and Phl. *hōm* are translated by the interlinear NP. *ay hōm* (ای هوم) “O Hōm” which could suggest that in YIrPs, it was interpreted as the vocative. Moreover, as discussed in section 3.1, the preposition omission in YIrPs is a feature of Jāmāsp’s post-arrival corrected manuscripts.

Therefore, associating the omission of the preposition *ō* in YIrPs with correction, Av. *haōmāi* in Y 9.3 is translated by Phl. *ō hōm* in the present edition.

It should be noted that *namāz (ō) hōm*, translating *nəmō haōmāi*, also occurs in Y 10.17. Josephson (1997: 101) edits *namāz hōm* in her edition of Y 10.17 and in the commentary to the dative case, she mentions that it is an example which shows that the dative case at the beginning of the verse can occur without the preposition (Josephson 1997: 127). However, the distribution pattern of the preposition *ō* in Y 10.17 is like that of Y 9.3 because while *ō* is omitted in YIrPs,<sup>301</sup> it is present in YIndP J2 (fol. 103r line 1), writing *namāz ō hōm*. In K5, due to the poor condition of fol. 76r, the text of Y 10.17 is illegible, but it is written as *namāz ō hōm* in its closely related copy M1 (fol. 199r line 12). Therefore, Y 10.17 *namāz hōm* is another example of correction by the omission of preposition in YIrPs, postdating the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp Velāyati.

## 2) Line 3 Y 9.3bP *tō* “you”

In YInP K5 and its closely related M1, *hōm* is added after *tō* in *kē tō (hōm) fradom hōm az mardōmān andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē* “who, as the first one, O Hōm, among men in the material world pressed you, (O Hōm)?”. By contrast, it is absent in J2 (K5 sister manuscript) and their Iranian counterparts. While *fradom hōm* corresponds to *paoiriiō haoma*, the first *hōm* in K5 and M1 does not have an Avestan counterpart. In addition, the same formulaic structure occurs in Y 9.6, 9 and 12 in which *hōm* is not written after *tō* in K5, M1. Therefore, it seems that the incorporation of *hōm* after *tō* into the sentence in K5 was a scribal mistake which was copied by the scribe of M1.<sup>302</sup> As a result, in agreement with J2 and YIrPs, the sentence is edited as *kē tō fradom hōm az mardōmān andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē* in the present edition.

## 3) Line 5 Y 9.3bP *andar astōmandān gēhān* “in the material world”

Av. *gaēθā-* is rendered in Pahlavi by *passim* pl. *gēhān*, derived from *\*g<sup>h</sup>eih<sub>3</sub>*, “to live”.<sup>303</sup> As its main meaning, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 476-479) translates the Avestan word as “being, material being, creature”. However, in some occasions, *gaēθā-* can (secondarily) mean “world”. For example, when it occurs with *vispa-* “all” or *astuuaitī-* in *astuuaitī- gaēθā-*

<sup>301</sup> See Pt4 (fol. 69r line 9); Mf4 (p. 183, line 8); Y 10 is absent from G14; T6 (fol. 64r line 1); T55b (fol. 95v line 12-13).

<sup>302</sup> For the relationship between K5 and M1 see section 2.1 and 3.1.

<sup>303</sup> See *AirWb.* 476-479; Kent (1953: 182); Nyberg (1974: 82); *LIV.* 215.

“material *gaēθā-*” (*AirWb.* 477-478). Likewise, in the editions of the Hōm Yasht, *gaēθā-* in *astuuaitī-* *gaēθā-* is translated by most scholars as “world”.<sup>304</sup> Although *gaēθā-* in the mentioned Avestan formula can be translated as “world” and “creature”, in the following example, the translation of Av. *gaēθā-* as “world” is problematic:

Y 34.3 *aṭ tōi miiazdām ahurā*  
*nəmanhā ašāicā dāmā*  
*gaēθā vīspā ā xšaθrōi*  
*yā vohū θraoštā manahā*  
*ārōi zī hudānhō*  
*vīspāiš mazdā xšmāuuasū sauuo*

Then, O Lord, we, all creatures (worlds?), give an offer to you  
 by reverence and through the Truth  
 under (your) rule.  
 whom you nourished through the Good Thought.  
 Indeed, the salvation be granted to the beneficent man  
 By all those among your kind, O Wise one.<sup>305</sup>

The Gāθic verse challenges the interpretation according to which OAv. *vispa-* *gaēθā-* means “all world”. The same conclusion most probably applies to YAv. *gaēθā-* *ašahe*, which is usually translated as “creature of the Truth” by scholars.<sup>306</sup> The evidence agrees with the suggestion of Lommel (1930: 104) who while interpreting *gaēθā-* as “world”, rightly insists that “world” must be understood in its narrow sense referring to what flies and crawls, or living beings. He also adds that the development of the meaning of the word from “creature” to “world” starts from the Young Avestan period. However, the beginning of the semantic development should be later than the Young Avestan period because OP. *gaiθā-* means “living personal property, cattle” (Kent 1953: 182):

DB. 1.64-66 *adam niyačārayam kārahyā abicariš gaiθāmca māniyamcā v<sup>i</sup>θibišca tyādiš*  
*gaumāta<sup>h</sup> hya magus adīnā*

I (Darius) restored the pasture land of the people and the cattle and the household slave and together with the houses of which Gaumāta, the magus, deprived them.<sup>307</sup>

<sup>304</sup> For the occurrences of *astuuaitī-* *gaēθā-* in the Hōm Yašt see Y 9.3; Y 9.4; Y 9.6; Y 9.7; Y 9.9; Y 9.10; Y 9.12; Y 9.13. For translations see Darmesteter (1898); Wolff (1910); Josephson (1997); Pirart (2004).

<sup>305</sup> My translation builds on Insler (1975: 55) and Humbach (1959: I, 105).

<sup>306</sup> See Jamaspasa and Humbach (1971: 23); Hintze (1994a: 118, 252, 267); Josephson (1997: 40); Pirart (2004: 67).

<sup>307</sup> The Text is after Kent (1953: 118, 120).

Moreover, in the Pahlavi version of Vd 18.65, *gēhān*, is glossed by *gōspandān* “small cattle” which shows that by the insertion of the gloss, it is intended to insist that the meaning of Phl. *gēhān* as the translation of Av. *gaēθqm* “fold” is different from its common meaning in Pahlavi as “world”.<sup>308</sup>

Vd 18.65A. *tāšca tē mraomi spitama zaraθuštra jaθβōtara ...  
yaθa vāhrqam azrō.daiδīm gaēθqm auui frapataiti*

And I tell you, O Spitama Zaraθuštra, about those (who) are worthier to be killed ...  
like the hunting wolf which attacks the fold.<sup>309</sup>

Vd 18.65P. *awēšān čē rāy ō tō gōwam spitāmān zardušt kū zanišntar hēnd čiyōn ...  
gurg wiškar dahišnīh ka ō gēhān fraz patēt [ō gōspandān]*

and those (females) I say to you, O Spitāmān Zardušt, are more worthy of smiting than  
... the wolves of wilderness who fall upon the world [upon small cattle].<sup>310</sup>

Therefore, Av. *gaēθā-* in *astuuaitī-* *gaēθā-* is translated as “creature” in the present edition rather than “world” which has a broad sense of anything made of matter. By contrast, as mentioned above *gēhān* obviously denotes “world (of creatures), earth” in Pahlavi. For example:

Vd. 2.19Phl *u-š ēn gēhān pad sē bār ān and jam be kard*

He, Jam, made this earth, larger by three times.<sup>311</sup>

As far as Av. *astuuaitī-* f. is concerned, from the etymological point of view, it means “provided with bones” (Hintze: 1994: 411). However, in Old and Young Avestan, *astuuant-* in *astuuant-ahu-* formula is contrasted with *manahiia-ahu-* “mental or spiritual, existence”. It shows that from the Old Avestan time onwards, its meaning extended to describe the material existence and beings.<sup>312</sup> Therefore, in the present edition, it is translated as “material”.

In the Pahlavi version, Av. *astuuaitī-* *gaēθā-* is rendered by *astōmandān gēhān*. Mills (1903: 316) and Davar (1904: 30) translate it as “corporeal world” and “material world”, respectively. By contrast, Josephson (1997: 45) argues that the Avestan adjective

<sup>308</sup> For the meaning of *gēhān* in Pahlavi see Durkin-Meisterernst (2004: 169); Nyberg (1974: 82); MacKenzie (1971: 36).

<sup>309</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 121).

<sup>310</sup> Edition and translation by Moazami (1949: 422-423).

<sup>311</sup> Edition and translation by Moazami (1949: 54-55). In the Avestan original, “the earth” is given by *zam-*.

<sup>312</sup> See Y 28.2; Y 43.3; Y 57.25; P 40.

*astuuaiθiiāi* is substantivised by the plural sign *-ān* in Pahlavi and consequently, she interprets *astōmandān gēhān* as the *ezāfa* construction “the world of material beings”. However, it should be noted that the adjective of plural nouns in Pahlavi can occur either singular or plural, marked by *-ān* (Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 203, §424). Therefore, considering *astuuaitī-* adj. in the Avestan original, Phl. *astōmandān* is interpreted as the adjective, meaning “material” in the present edition.

Regarding the translation technique of the dative case in *astuuaiθiiāi gaēθiiāi*, it is expressed in the Hōm Yašt by the preposition *andar* “in”. The translation technique agrees with the usual Pahlavi translation of the Avestan place names in dative and genitive cases.<sup>313</sup> To study the Pahlavi translation of *astuuaitī- gaēθā-*, its occurrences in the Avesta together with its corresponding Pahlavi translations are listed in the following table:

	<b>Avesta</b> <sup>314</sup>	<b>Pahlavi</b> <sup>315</sup>
Y 9.8; Y 57.24	acc. sg. ( <i>aoi yqm</i> ) <i>astuuaitīm gaēθqm</i>	<i>abar ō astōmandān gēhān</i> “to the material world”
Y 9.3; Y 9.4; Y 9.6; Y 9.7; Y 9.9; Y 9.10; Y 9.12; Y 9.13	dat. sg. <i>astuuaitiiāi ... gaēθiiāi</i>	<i>andar astōmandān gēhān</i> “in the material world”
Y 65.9; P 12	dat. pl. <i>gaēθābiiō astuuaitibiiō</i>	<i>andar gēhān ī astōmand</i> “in the world which is material”
Vd 2.1, 39, 42; Vd. 2.39, 42, 43; Vd 3.1, 7, 12, 15, 16, 30, 36; Vd 4.2, 5, 11, 18, 21, 55; Vd. 5.5, 8, 9-11, 15, 22, 27, 33, 35, 39, 41, 43, 45, 50, 53, 57; Vd. 6.4, 6, 8, 10, 26, 28, 30, 42, 44, 47; Vd 7.1, 3, 5, 9, 23, 36, 45, 53, 70; Vd. 8.4, 12, 14, 23, 26, 27, 31, 41-69, 81-97, 106; Vd 9.1, 43, 47, 49, 54; Vd 10.1, 3; Vd 11.1; Vd 12.2; Vd 13.4, 12, 17, 20, 24, 29, 35, 36, 41, 50; Vd 14.1,	gen. pl. <i>gaēθanqm astuuaitinqm</i>	<i>ī gēhān ī astōmandān</i> “of the world which is material”

<sup>313</sup> See Cantera (2004: 270).

<sup>314</sup> For texts see Geldner (1886-1896). For the Pursišnīhā see Jamaspasa & Humbach (1971). For the Hādōxt Nask see HP F12B.

<sup>315</sup> For the Yasna see Dhabhar (1949). For the Vīdēvdād see Moazami (2014) and also Anklesaria (1949). For the Pursišnīhā see Jamaspasa & Humbach (1971). For the Hādōxt Nask see the HP F12B.



11-15; Vd 15.17, 23, 44, 46, 50; Vd 16.1, 5, 14; Vd 17.1; Vd. 18.8, 18.14, 61, 67; Vd 19.11, 27; Vd 20.1; H 1.1		
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As it is evident from the table, unlike the Yasna in which gen. pl. *gaēθanqm astuuaitnqm* is consistently translated by *andar gēhān ī astōmandān* “in the material world”, it is rendered by *ī gēhān ī astōmandān* “of the material world” in the Vīdēvdād and Hādōxt Nask. The reason is that *gaēθanqm astuuaitnqm* is preceded by voc. *dātarə* “O creator” which makes the translation *\*dādār andar gēhān ī astōmandān* “O creator in the material world” semantically meaningless. Consequently, it can be concluded that following the Pahlavi translation techniques of the Avesta, the Pahlavi translators also considered the meaning of their translations.

**4) Line 6 Y 9.3bP** *az ān tarsagāhīh kard* “from that respect was shown”

While YIndPs write *az ān tarsagāhīh kard* “from that respect was shown”, in YIrPs, it appears as *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* “what respect was shown to him?”.<sup>316</sup> However, elsewhere in Y 9, Av. *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui* is rendered unanimously by *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* in the manuscripts. The Pahlavi translation of YIndPs in Y 9.3 should be understood in association with its following commentary:

Y 9.3P *az ān tarsagāhīh kard*  
*ān nēkīh kū tā-m bawād*

from that respect, was shown,  
that goodness so that it will be mine.

As shown above, in YIndPs, *tarsagāhīh* is associated with *nēkīh*. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, the reading of the base text K5 and its sister manuscript J2 is employed in the present edition.

<sup>316</sup> For the Pahlavi sentence and its translation see Y 9.6 commentary 2 *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard*.

## 4.4 Y 9.4

1 (Y 9.4aA) *āaṭ mē aēm paitiiaoxta*  
 2 *haōmō aṣauua dūraošō*  
 3 (Y 9.4bA) *vīuuaṇ<sup>v</sup>hā mām paoiriiō maṣiiō*  
 4 *astuuaiḡiiāi hunūta gaēḡiiāi*  
 5 *hā ahmāi aṣiš ərənāuu*  
 6 *taṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*  
 7 (Y 9.4cA) *yaṭ hē puḡrō us.zaiata*  
 8 *yō yimō xšaētō huuqḡbō*  
 9 (Y 9.4dA) *x<sup>v</sup>arənaṇ<sup>v</sup>hastəmō zātanqm*  
 10 *huuarə.darəsō maṣiiānqm*  
 11 (Y 9.4eA) *yaṭ kərənaoṭ aṇhe xšaḡrāda*  
 12 *amarśaṇta pasu.vīra*  
 13 *aṇhaošəmnē āpa.uruuairē*  
 14 (Y 9.4fA) *x<sup>v</sup>airiiqn x<sup>v</sup>arəḡəm ajiiamnəm*

1 (Y 9.4aA) Thereupon, answered me  
 2 the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult:  
 3-4 (Y 9.4bA) ‘Vīuuaṇ<sup>v</sup>hant, as the first mortal, pressed me for the material creature.  
 5 This reward was granted to him,  
 6 this boon came to him,  
 7 (Y 9.4cA) that a son was born to him  
 8 who is the splendid Yima of good flocks,  
 9 (Y 9.4dA) the most glorious one of those born,  
 10 the one looking like the sun among the mortals,  
 11 (Y 9.4eA) who made by his rule,  
 12 both animal and man immortal  
 13 both water and plant un-drying.  
 14 (Y 9.4fA) The consumable foods were undiminishing.

1 (Y 9.4aP) *ō man ōy passōx guft*  
 2 *hōm ī ahlaw dūrōš*  
 3 (Y 9.4bP) *wīwanghān man fradom az mardōmān*  
 4 *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīdam*  
 5 *ōy ān tarsagāhīh kard*  
 6 *ō ōy mad ābādīh*  
 7 (Y 9.4cP) *ka az ōy pus ul zād*  
 8 *kē jam ī šēd ī huraṃag*  
 9 (Y 9.4dP) *kē xwarrahōmandtom az zādān būd [xwēškārtom]*  
 10 *xwaršēd nigerišntom az mardōmān būd [hučāšmtom]*  
 11 *hād xwarrah ast ī xwēškārīh*  
 12 *ud ast ī pad tan ī mard*  
 13 *ān ī pad tan ī jam*  
 14 *hamdādestān būd hēnd kū xwēškārīh*  
 15 *hād rōšn guft*  
 16 *hād xwarrah ēd ast ī pad tan ī mard*  
 17 *xwarrahōmand dārēd xwēškārīh ān rawāg kunēd]*

18 (Y 9.4eP) *kē-š kard pad ān ī ōy xwadāyīh*

19 *amarg pah ud wīr*

20 *ahōšišn ud āb ud urwar*

21 *[kū ān ī nē abāyist hušk nē hušk]*

22 (Y 9.4fP) *xwarišn xwarān anabesīhišn*

23 *[kū ka ēw xward būd ēw mad būd]*

1 (Y 9.4aP) He answered me,<sup>1</sup>

2 Hōm who is righteous (and) averts perdition:

3-4 (Y 9.4bP) Wiwanghān as the first one, among men pressed me in the material world<sup>2</sup>.

5 The respect was shown to him,

6 the prosperity came to him,

7 (Y 9.4cP) when a son was born from him,<sup>3</sup>

8 who is the shining Jam of good flocks,

9 (Y 9.4dP) who was the most glorious one of those born, [the most dutiful one].

10 (He) was the most looking like the sun one among men, [the most benevolent one].<sup>4</sup>

11 That means: Glory is the proper action<sup>5</sup>

12 and which is in the body of man

13 (and) which is in the body of Jam.

14 (They) have been agreeable (to each other) which is the proper function.

15 Know that Rōšn said:<sup>6</sup>

16 ‘Yes (and) the glory is this which is in the body of man.

17 The glorious has the duty to make that current’],

18 (Y 9.4eP) that he made by his rule

19-20 animal immortal and man non-dying and (he made by his rule non-dying) water and plant.<sup>7</sup>

21 [That means: What was not desired to be dry, (was) not dry].<sup>8</sup>

22 (Y 9.4fP) Food, while being eaten, was undiminishing.<sup>9</sup>

23 [When one had been consumed another one had come].

### 1) Line 1 Y 9.4aP *ō man ōy passōx guft* “He answered me”

In YIrP T6, *ēdōn* “thus, so” appears at the beginning of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.4, preceding *ō man*. However, it is absent in other manuscripts. Considering the absence of the word in its related manuscripts YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14<sup>317</sup> of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line,<sup>318</sup> and old YIndP J2, K5, *ēdōn* is to be associated with scribal correction.

### 2) Line 4 Y 9.4bP *astōmandān gēhān* “material world”<sup>319</sup>

One of the features of YIndP K5 and its closely related M1 is the unnecessary or

<sup>317</sup> According to the T6 colophon and the results of the text-critical apparatus, T6 is a descendant of G14. See sections 2.2 and 3.1.

<sup>318</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

<sup>319</sup> For a discussion see Y 9.3 commentary 3 *andar astōmandān gēhān* “in the material world”.

erroneous incorporation of the ezāfa *ī* into the sentences. The examples of this feature in the first fifteen stanzas of Y 9 are listed as follows:<sup>320</sup>

Stanza	YIndP K5, M1	YIrPs + YIndP J2
Y 9.1 line 2	<i>hāwan ī gāh</i>	<i>hāwan gāh</i>
Y 9.4 line 4 Y 9.6 line 3 Y 9.7 line 4 Y 9.9 line 3 Y 9.10 line 9 Y 9.12 line 3 Y 9.13 line 4	<i>astōmandān ī gēhān</i>	<i>astōmandān gēhān</i>
Y 9.7 line 3	<i>āspyān ī man dudigar</i>	<i>āspyān man dudigar</i>
Y 9.11	<i>ān ī āhanēn dēg ī frāz spurđ<sup>321</sup></i>	<i>ān ī āhanēn dēg frāz spurđ</i>
Y 9.14	<i>ān weh ī dāitī</i>	<i>ān weh dāitī<sup>322</sup></i>

In the present edition, although the base text is K5, in agreement with J2 (K5 sister manuscript) and YIrPs, *ī* is omitted in the mentioned examples.

### 3) Line 7 Y9.4cP *ka az ōy pus ul zād* “when a son was born from him”

Phl. *ka* “when” renders Av. *yať* “that”. In addition to Y 9.4, the mentioned formulaic structure and its corresponding Avestan original occur in Y 9.7, 10 and 13. In the manuscripts, *ka* is occasionally replaced by *kē* “who” as follows:

Y 9.4 *ka*: YIrP Pt4, Mf4, T6, T55b; YIndPY J2, K5, M1 vs. *kē*: YIrP G14, F2.

Y 9.7 *ka*: YIrP Mf4; YInd J2 vs. *kē*: YIrP Pt4, G14, F2, T6, T55b; YIndP K5, M1.

Y 9.10 *ka*: YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6, T55b; YIndP J2, K5, M1 vs. *kē*: YIrP F2.

Y 9.13 *ka*: YIrP Pt4, Mf4, T55b; YIndP J2, K5, M1 vs. *kē*: YIrP G14, F2, T6.

While from the semantic point of view, both readings are possible, following the base text YIndP K5, *ka* is employed in the edition of Y 9.4, 10, 13. By contrast, in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.7, *yať* is represented by *kē* in the present edition.

<sup>320</sup> For variant readings see text-critical apparatus.

<sup>321</sup> The ezāfa *ī* after *dēg* cannot be interpreted as the indefinite article *-ē* because *āhanēn dēg* is preceded by *ān ī* “the”.

<sup>322</sup> In J2, *weh* is absent. See Y 9.14 commentary 2 *weh*.

**4) Line 10 Y 9.4dP** *xwaršēd nigerišntom az mardōmān būd [hučāšmtom]* “(he) was the most looking like the sun one among men, [the most benevolent one]”

With the exception of G14 and T6, the Avestan original *xʷarənaŋhastəmō zātanqm* *huuarə.darəsō mašiiānqm* and its Pahlavi translation and commentary occur together in a same section (Y 9.4d in the present edition). By contrast, changing the order, *xʷarənaŋhastəmō zātanqm* is separated from its Zand *kē xwarrahōmandtom az zādān būd [xwēškārtom]* in G14 and T6. Moreover, Av. *huuarə.darəsō mašiiānqm* and its Pahlavi translation are moved from the near beginning of section d (according to the present edition) to the end of the section in G14 and T6. The following table summarises the differences between G14, T6 and the other manuscripts:

YIrP Pt4, M4, F2, T6; YIrP J2, K5, M1 <sup>323</sup>	YIrP G14, T6 <sup>324</sup>
(Y 9.4cA) <i>yaṭ hē puθrō us.zaiiata</i> <i>yō yimō xšaētō huuqθβō</i> -	(Y 9.4cA) <i>yaṭ hē puθrō us.zaiiata</i> <i>yō yimō xšaētō huuqθβō</i> <b><i>xʷarənaŋhastəmō zātanqm</i></b>
(Y 9.4cP) <i>ka az ōy pus ul zād</i> <i>kē jam ī šēd hura mag</i> (Y 9.4dA) <b><i>xʷarənaŋhastəmō zātanqm</i></b> <b><i>huuarə.darəsō mašiiānqm</i></b>	(Y 9.4cP) <i>ka<sup>325</sup> az ōy pus ul zād</i> <i>kē jamšēd hura mag</i> -
(Y 9.4dP) <b><i>kē xwarrahōmandtom az zādān būd [xwēškārtom]</i></b> <b><i>xwaršēd nigerišntom az mardōmān būd [hučāšmtom]</i></b>	<b><i>kē xwarrahōmandtom az zādān būd [xwēškārtom]</i></b> -
<i>hād xwarrah ast ī xwēškārīh</i> <i>ud ast ī pad tan ī mard</i> <i>ān ī pad tan ī jam hamdādestān būd hēnd kū xwēškārīh</i> <i>hād rōšn guft</i> <i>hād xwarrah ēd ast ī pad tan ī mard</i> <i>xwarrahōmand dārēd xwēškārīh ān rawāg kunēd]</i> - - -	<i>hād xwarrah ast xwēškārīh</i> <i>ud ast tan ī mard</i> <i>ud ān<sup>326</sup> pad tan jam hamdādestān būd hēnd kū xwēškārīh</i> <i>rōšn guft</i> <i>hād xwarrah ēd ast pad tan ī mard</i> <i>xwarrahōmand dārēd xwēškārīh ān rawāg kunēd]</i> (Y 9.4dA) <b><i>huuarə.darəsō mašiiānqm</i></b> (Y 9.4dP) <b><i>ud xwaršēd<sup>327</sup> nigerišntom az mardōmān būd [hučāšmtom]</i></b>

<sup>323</sup> Pt4 (fol. 55r line 12-21); Mf4 (p. 148 line 15-17; p. 149 line 1-8); F2 (fol. 52v line 10-15; fol. 53r line 1-5); T55b (fol. 70r line 3-15; fol. 70v line 1-2); J2 (fol. 82r line 10-15; fol. 82v line 1-5); K5 (fol. 61r line 17; fol. 61v line 1-5). For variant readings of the Avestan original see the manuscripts available online at <http://avesta-archive.com/>. For variant readings of the Pahlavi version see text-critical apparatus.

<sup>324</sup> G14 (fol. 53v line 7-14; fol. 54r line); T6 (fol. 44v line 11-13; fol. 45r line 1-6). For variant readings of the Avestan original see the manuscripts available online at <http://avesta-archive.com/>.

<sup>325</sup> G14 *kē*.

<sup>326</sup> G14 *ud ān*.

<sup>327</sup> G14 T6 *ud xwaršēd*.

The unique order of the closely related manuscripts G14 and T6 must be associated with correction. The reason is that it is absent in the other manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line.<sup>328</sup> Moreover, as discussed in sections 2.1 and 3.1, there are other pieces of evidence showing that these two manuscripts are corrected.

Regarding the translation technique of Av. *huuarə.darəsa-* “looking like the sun”, the simple adjective is rendered in the Pahlavi version by the superlative *nigerišntom* “most looking like the sun”.

**5) Line 11 Y 9.4dP** *xwarrah ast ī xwēškārīh* “Glory is the proper action”

According to the commentary of Y 9.4d, Glory is defined by the proper action which is in the body of man. Similarly, in the following passage from the Dēnkard book III, the proper action is related to Glory:

DkM. 343.19-21 *hād dādār dahišn ō kār dād dahišn kāregar hēnd dādār u-šān xūb rawāgīh kār pad xwarrah xwēškārīh pad xwarrah... .*

That is: the creator set the creation for action. (The creatures) are the performers of the creator and good-currency of their action is due to Glory (and) the proper function is because of Glory.<sup>329</sup>

The Zādsparam also agrees with the context of the Dēnkard and Y 9.4 where we find the following passage which implies that the proper function is connected with Glory and the body:

Zs 3.75 *čiyōn gōwīhēd pad dēn kū kadār pēš būd xwarrah ayāb tan u-š guft ōhrmazd kū-m xwarrah pēš dād pas ō ān dād estēd xwarrah tan dād kū xwēškārīh brēhēnīd u-š tan bē ō xwēškārīh dād*<sup>330</sup>

As is said in the Scripture: What was prior, the Glory or body?

Thereupon, Ohrmazd said to them

that: ‘I first produced the Glory. After the Glory has been produced for it,

I created the body which is proper action, and he (Ohrmazd) created the body for the proper action.<sup>331</sup>

<sup>328</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.22.1.

<sup>329</sup> My translation.

<sup>330</sup> See Anklesaria (1964: 39).

<sup>331</sup> The text is after Anklesaria (1964: LXXX).

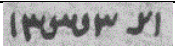
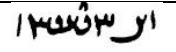
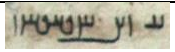
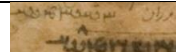
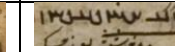
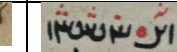
**6) Line 15 Y 9.4dP** *hād rōšn guft* “know that Rōšn said”

Since in the base text K5 and its closely related M1, *hād* precedes *rōšn*, it is employed in the present edition.

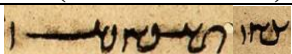
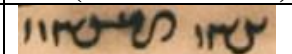
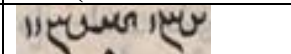
**7) Line 19-20 Y 9.4eP** *amarg pah ud wīr ahōšišn ud āb ud urwar* “animal immortal and man non-dying and (he made by his rule non-dying) water and plant”

The Pahlavi *amarg pah ud wīr ahōšišn ud āb ud urwar* is the translation of the Avestan *amaršanta pasu.vīra aṇhaošmne āpa.uruuaire* “(who made by his rule) both animal and man immortal, both water and plant un-drying” in which *pasu.vīra* and *āpa.uruuaire* are *dvandva* and the adjectives *amaršanta* “immortal” and *aṇhaošmne* “undrying” are dual. The spelling of the action noun *ahōšišn* “immortal, non-dying, undrying” in the manuscripts is as follows:

a) YIrP:

Pt4 (fol. 55v line 4)	Mf4 (p. 149 line 12)	G14 (fol. 54r line 3)	F2 (fol. 53r line 7)	T6 (fol. 45r line 9)	T55b (fol. 70v line 6)
					

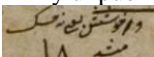
b) YIndP:

J2 (fol. 82v line 8-9)	K5 (fol. 61v line 11)	M1 (fol. 159r line 12)
		

As regards the Iranian manuscripts, associating with NP. *xōšīdan* “to dry”, the word was interpreted as “undrying” by the scribes of T6, T55b and probably by copyists of the other Iranian copies. The reason is that the initial  $x < h$  is shown by the diacritic dot above 𐭮 in T55b.<sup>332</sup> Furthermore, the word is translated by the inelinear NP. *u axōšišn ya ‘ni nē xušk mē-šud* “and *axōšišn* means that it was not being dried” in YIrP T6.<sup>333</sup>

As shown above, the word is spelled similarly in YIrP Pt4, M4 and T55b in which 𐭮

<sup>332</sup> In my unpublished MA dissertation, I discuss the diacritic marks in T55b (Khanizadeh 2013: 47).

<sup>333</sup> 

can translate either the Avestan negation prefix *a-* or the dual number. In T55b, the New Persian superscript 𐬀 “no”, written above 𐬱, confirms the former, or *axōšišn* “undrying”. Moreover, from the semantic point of view, 𐬱 cannot be interpreted as 2 because *dō hōšišn* “two drying” is obviously a mistranslation of Av. *aṇhaošəmne* “two undrying”. By contrast, YIrP G14 and T6 write the word with minor variations according to which 𐬱 𐬀 and 𐬱 𐬀 precede it, respectively. Furthermore, while G14 writes *hōšišn*, it appears as *ahōšišn* in T6. According to the Pahlavi palaeography, 𐬱 and 𐬱 often express the negation prefix and dual number, respectively, according to which the reading of G14 and T6 would be as follows:

G14 *a ud? dō hōšišn* “non and? two drying” vs. T6 *ud dō a ahōšišn* “and two non undrying”.

However, like T55b, is it also possible to read 𐬱 as the negation suffix. As a result, 𐬱 should be interpreted as 2, expressing the dual number. Following the latter interpretation, the reading of G14 and T6 would be *dō ud? ahōšišn* “two and? undrying” and *ud a 2 ahōšišn* “and non two undrying”. However, with the exception of *dō ud? ahōšišn*, the other possible readings are problematic because while the negation suffix cannot be separated from the negated word,<sup>334</sup> *dō a ahōšišn* and *ud a 2 ahōšišn* are semantically meaningless. As mentioned, the only possible reading is *dō ud? ahōšišn* “(water and plant are) two and? undrying”. Nonetheless, in its parallel text attested in the Dēnkard VII, the variant *ahōšišn* appears:

DkM 595.18-20 *u-š kard pad ān ī ōy xwadāyīh xwadāyīh<sup>335</sup> amarg pah ud wīr ud ahōšišn āb urwar... .*

Moreover, in F2, the unique variant *ahōšišnōmand* takes place. But, for the editorial judgement, the manuscript is not as important as the old Indian manuscripts and its Iranian counterparts of the Hōšang ī Syāwaxš-line. The variations in the Iranian manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line<sup>336</sup> also suggests the possibility of scribal corrections.

<sup>334</sup> For negation prefix see Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 150, §283).

<sup>335</sup> Phl. *xwadāyīh* is repeated.

<sup>336</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.



In YIndP J2, although the Pahlavi word can be transcribed as either *ahōšišnīh* or *ahōšišniš*, the latter is obviously wrong. For the editorial judgement between *ahōšišn* and *ahōšišnīh*, it is impossible to draw a decisive conclusion but in agreement with the majority of the manuscripts including the base text K5, *ahōšišn* is chosen in the present edition.

The other variation among the manuscripts is the position of *W(ud)* “and” which appears before *ahōšišn* in YIrP:

YIrP *kē-š kard pad ān ī ōy xwadāyīh*  
*amarg pah ud wīr*  
*ud ahōšišn āb ud urwar*

“that he made by his rule  
 animal and man non-dying,  
 and un-drying water and plant”.

By contrast, in YIndP, the conjunction *ud*, by separating *ahōšišn* from *āb ud urwar*, relates it to the preceding sentence:

YIndP *kē-š kard pad ān ī ōy xwadāyīh*  
*amarg pah ud wīr*  
*ahōšišn ud āb ud urwar*

“that he made by his rule  
 animal non-dying and man  
*ahōšišn*, and water (non-dying) and plant (*ahōšišn*)”

It should be noted that since *ahōšišn* is associated with *wīr* “man” in YIndPs, it was probably interpreted as “immortal, non-dying” rather than “non-drying” by their scribes. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, in agreement with the base text, *ahōšišn ud* is employed in the present edition and *ahōšišn* is translated as “non-dying”.


**8) Line 21 Y 9.4Pe** *kū ān ī nē abāyist hušk nē hušk* “That means: What was not desired to be dry, (was) not dry”

Phl. *ī* in *ān ī* is replaced by *KN (ōh)* in YIrP F2 and it is omitted in YIndP J2. However, following the *ān ī* “that is, the” formula and in agreement with the reading of the base text K5, *ī* is employed in the present edition.

The Pahlavi verb *abāyist* also appears differently in the manuscript. While in YIndPs, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. past *abāyist* appears, in their Iranian counterpart 3<sup>rd</sup>. sg. pres. *abāyēd* occurs. For

example:

YIrP Pt4 (fol. 55v line 4):  vs. YIndP K5 (fol. 61v line 12): .

Moreover, the reading of YIrP F2 (fol. 53r line 8)  is unclear. The following word *hušk* is also deleted in YIrPs with exception of Pt4 (fol. 55v line 4) in which it appears as the superscript pale word.<sup>337</sup> As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, in agreement with the reading of the old YIndP J2, K5, *kū ān ī nē abāyist hušk nē hušk* is employed in the present edition.

**9) Line 22 Y 9.4P** *xwarišn xwarān anabesīhišn* “food, while being eaten, was undiminishing”

In YInd J2, *xwarišn* “food” is replaced by *xward* “(he) ate”. However, it is obvious that 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. past *xward* does not fit the context. Furthermore, *xwarišn* is attested in J2 sister manuscript, or K5, in agreement with which *xwarišn* is employed in the present edition.

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337 

## 4.5 Y 9.5

- 1 (Y 9.5aA) *yimahe xšaθre auruuahe*  
 2 *nōiṭ aotəm āṇha nōiṭ garəməm*  
 3 (Y 9.5bA) *nōiṭ zauruua āṇha nōiṭ mərəθiiuš*  
 4 *nōiṭ araskō daēuuō.dātō*  
 5 (Y 9.5cA) *paṇca dasa fracarōiḍe pita*  
 6 *puθrasca raodaēšuuu katarasciṭ*  
 7 (Y 9.5dA) *yauuata xšaiiōiṭ huuqθβō*  
 8 *yimō vīvaṇ<sup>v</sup>hatō puθrō*

- 1 (Y 9.5aA) At the rule of swift Yima,  
 2 there has been neither cold nor heat,  
 3 (Y 9.5bA) there has been neither old-age nor death,  
 4 nor demon-created envy.  
 5 (Y 9.5cA) With a growth of a fifteen-year old, father  
 6 and son, each, walked about,  
 7-8 (Y 9.5dA) as long as Yima of the good flocks, son of Vivahvant used to rule.

- 1 (Y 9.5aP) *pad ān ī jam xwadāyīh ī arwand*  
 2 *nē sarmāg būd nē garmāg*  
 3 (Y 9.5bP) *nē zarmān būd ud nē margīh*  
 4 *ud nē arešk ī dēwān dād*  
 5 *[hād hamāg būd be az wināh abāz dāšt ēstād hēnd]*  
 6 (Y 9.5cP) *pānzdah sālag ārōyišn frāz raft hēnd pid*  
 7 *ud pus kadār-iz-ē*  
 8 *[hād burzōy pad stāyišn ī pusar guft*  
 9 *kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid*  
 10 *pid ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn ī pus]*  
 11 (Y 9.5dP) *hamē tā ka padixšā būd*  
 12 *hūramag jam ī [šēd] wīwanghān pus*  
 13 *[ēn tis ēdōn būd]*

- 1 (Y 9.5aP) At the rule of the swift Jam,  
 2 there was neither cold nor heat,  
 3 (Y 9.5bP) there was neither old-age nor death  
 4 and nor the demon-created envy.  
 5 [That is: there was everything but they were kept from offense].  
 6 (Y 9.5cP) With a growth of a fifteen-year old, father  
 7 and son each other went forth<sup>1</sup>.  
 8 [That is: Burzōy said in the praise of the son<sup>2</sup>  
 9 that the son was as good as the father  
 10 (so), the father<sup>3</sup> was as good as the son],  
 11-12 (Y 9.5dP) all the while that [the splendid] Jam<sup>4</sup> of good flock, son of Wīwanghān  
 was the king  
 13 [this matter was so].

**1) Line 6 Y 9.5cP** *frāz raft hēnd* “went forth”

Av. *fracarōiṇe* “walked about” is translated by the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. past ind. *frāz raft hēnd* “went forth” in Pahlavi. Although in Avestan the ending *-ṇe* functions as 3<sup>rd</sup> du. middle, it is originally a 2<sup>nd</sup> du. mid. ending. As regards the mood, it has been taken as the ind. pres. rather than opt. pres. by scholars. For example, de Vaan (2003: 349) rejects the phonetic development *\*-aēṇe > -ōiṇe* in view of other instances such as *gaēṇā-*, *gaēṇiia-* and *maēṇana-* in which the mentioned development is absent. He suggests that probably *-ōi-*, derived from *\*-əi-*, ‘has been retained in front of 2<sup>nd</sup> du. *-ṇe* as a characteristic of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl./2<sup>nd</sup> du. vs. *\*-ai-* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural’.

As the ind. verb, Av. *fracarōiṇe* is preceded by the perfect *āṇha* “was” and followed by another verb in opt. mood, *xšaiiōiṭ* “(he) may rule”, describing all together an event in the past. Therefore, it has caused different interpretations. For example, Josephson (1997: 47-48) translates all verbs as the past tense; *āṇha* “was”, *fracarōiṇe* “walked about” and *xšaiiōiṭ* “exercised his power”. By contrast, Pirart (2004: 64, fn. 45, 48) mentions that *fracarōiṇe* and *xšaiiōiṭ* replace inj. *\*fracaraētəm* and inj. *\*xšaiiaṭ*, respectively. However, Pirart’s suggestion is entirely hypothetical and is not supported by any of the manuscripts readings.

As far as the occurrence of the ind. *fracarōiṇe* in the past context is concerned, it has a parallel in Y 9.10 in which 3<sup>rd</sup> du. ind. *us.zaiiōiṇe* occurs in *yaṭ hē puṇra us.zaiiōiṇe uruuāxšaiiō kərəsāspasca* “that two sons were born to him (Θrita), namely Urwāxšaiia and Kərəsāspa”. Therefore, the ind. verb is translated as the past “went about” in the present edition to agree with the context of Y 9.5. In the Pahlavi version, the Avestan dual number of *fracarōiṇe* is represented by 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. auxiliary verb *hēnd* because Pahlavi only distinguishes between the sg. and pl. numbers.

As regards *xšaiiōiṭ*, it is known that the opt. ind. in the past context functions as *optativus iterativus*.<sup>338</sup> However, Gonda (1956: 63-65), with regard to Y 9.5, suggests that optative may also have a potentialis sense:

‘I would consider this use as follows: Here the person speaking is not able, or does not wish, to envisage the process as actual; he has no personal knowledge of Yima’s reign and wishing to be cautious and guarded in his statements he leaves some room for contingencies’.<sup>339</sup>

<sup>338</sup> See Reichelt (1909: 638, §308); Martinez & de Vaan (2014: §37, 102).

<sup>339</sup> Gonda (1956: 63-67).

Accepting Gonda's suggestion, Hoffmann (1976: 617) mentions that in addition to *xšaiiōiṭ*, *gərəzaēta* (Yt 17.57, 58, 59) and *fracaraēta* (Yt 13.107) have also the same sense. However, in Y 9.5, *xšaiiōiṭ* in *yauuata xšaiiōiṭ huuqθβō yimō vīvaṇʰhatō* can be translated as either “(as long as Yima) used to rule” or “(as long as Yima) is supposed or believed or traditionally held or said to have ruled”. Since in the past context, the pres. opt. often expresses *optativus iterativus*, *xšaiiōiṭ* is translated as “used to rule” in the present edition. By contrast, in the Pahlavi version *xšaiiōiṭ* is rendered by the simple past *pādixšā būd* “(he) was a king”.

**2) Line 8 Y 9.5cP** *burzōy pad stāyišn ī pusar guft* “Burzōy said in the praise of the son”

Y 9.5 describes the rule of Yima as a time during which “with a growth of a fifteen-year old, father and son, each, walked about”:

Y 9.5 *paṇca dasa fracarōiṭe pita*  
*puθrasca raodaēšuuva katarasciṭ*

The Avestan original is followed by the Zand in which *bwlc(w)k* occurs after *hād*:

*pānzdah sālag ārōyišn frāz raft hēnd pid*  
*ud pus kadār-iz-ē*  
[*hād bwlc(w)k pad stāyišn ī pusar guft*  
*kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid*  
*pid ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn ī pus*]

With a growth of a fifteen-year old, father  
and son each other went forth.  
[That is: *bwlc(w)k* said in the praise of the son  
that the son was as good as the father  
(so), the father was as good as the son]

While YIrPs write *bwlc*, YIndPs attest *bwlcwk*. In addition, YIndP J2 provides a unique commentary, different from that of the other manuscripts as follows:

*pānzdah sālag ārōyišn frāz raft hēnd pid*  
*ud pus kadār-iz-ē*  
J2 fol 83r lines 8-11 [*hād ud bwlcwk ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus pad stāyišn ī pusar guft*  
*kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid*  
*ud pid ī ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus*]

J2 fol 83r lines 8-11 [That is, and *bwlcwk* was as good as the son. In the praise of the son, it is said

that the son was as good as the father  
and, the father was as good as the son.]

In J2, *ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus* occurs twice at the beginning and at the end of the commentary while in the other manuscripts, it is only present at the end of the commentary. However, the reading of the Pahlavi word in J2 is semantically problematic because *bwlckwk* as the proper noun must be considered as the father of the son. But, it is obvious that while the text is about the glorious period of Jam during which everybody was young, father and son only occur as two examples of young people. Furthermore, the name of the father and son, living in the reign of Jam, are not mentioned in Pahlavi. Therefore, since in the J2 sister manuscripts, K5, *ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus* is absent after *bwlckwk*, the variant reading of J2 should be associated with scribal correction or mistake.

Nēryosangh, in his Sanskrit version of the Yasna, gives the *dvandva* composition *pūjāvinayakau* “reverence and respect” as the Sanskrit translation of *bwlck(w)k* (Unvala 1924: 12-13). In the interlinear New Persian version of F2 (fol. 53v line 4) and T6 (fol. 45v line 6), *bwlck* is translated by *zibdār* (زیبار) “beautiful” and *lāyeq va zibdār* (الایق و زیبار) “eligible and beautiful”, respectively. However, it is obvious that the New Persian and Sanskrit versions provide neither the proper semantic nor etymological translations of the Pahlavi word because none of the translations agree with the meaning of the word *bwlck(w)k* which is undoubtedly derived from the root OIr. *\*barz* “to be high”.

Associating *bwlck(w)k* with *pid ud pus*, Mills (1903c: 318) and Davar (1904: 17, 33-34) translate it as “grand” and “splendid”, respectively. It is obvious that Mills provides a free translation of the Pahlavi word. Davar (1904: 17, 33-34) suggests that it is the gloss to *ārōyišn*, translating the Avestan loc. pl. *raoḍaēšuuua* “in growths”. To explain his suggestion, Davar mentions that the order of the original Avestan *pañca dasa fracarōiḍe pita puḍrasca raoḍaēšuuua katarasciṭ* is not retained in *pānzdah sālag ārōyišn frāz raft hēnd pid ud pus kadār-iz-ē* as *ārōyišn* should have occurred after *pus*. Although Davar is right in stating that the Pahlavi redaction disagrees with the usual translation technique, there is no evidence to show that the Pahlavi word appearing several words after *ārōyišn*, is the gloss to *ārōyišn*. Furthermore, while the meaning “grand” is usually rendered by *wc(w)lg* (*wuzurg*), it is never implied by *bwlck* (*burzag*) in the Pahlavi literature as far as I know. It is possible to interpret *burzag* as “high”. However, although OIr. *\*brz-aka-* occurs in Sogdian and Khotanese as *βrz 'k-* (*βrzē*) “long” and *balysga-* “high”, respectively, in Middle and New Persian, adjectives denoting height from the root *\*barz* usually appear as *buland* “high, tall”, *burz*

“high” and *bālāy* “height”.<sup>340</sup>

By contrast, it seems that the gloss *hād bwl(w)k pad stāyišn ī pusar guft* follows the usual commentary beginning formula according to which the commentaries are introduced by using the verb *guftan* “to say” in two ways: 1) *ast kē ēdōn gōwēd* “there is one who says”, if the commentator is anonymous; 2) the name of the commentator is followed by *guft* “said” (Cantera 2004: 207-208). As far as *hād bwl(w)k pad stāyišn ī pusar guft* is concerned, it follows the second formula:

the name of the commentator + *guft* “said”  
*hād bwl(w)k pad stāyišn ī pusar guft pus ēdōn nēk būd ī pid ...*

Interpreting *bwl(w)k* as the name of a Pahlavi commentator, the next problem is that whether the word should be edited in agreement with YIrPs as *bwlck* “Burzag” or with their Indian counterparts as *bwlckw* “Borzōg, Burzōy”. As far as the first reading is concerned, *burzag* (OIr. \**br̥z-aka-*) as a proper name occurs in New Persian. Although such a name is uncommon, it occurs at least twice in DHR (Vol II, 153) as the name of a priest from Kerman. For example:

بشهر اندران بد بریش سپید      ماونداد هوشنگ و برزك امید  
 ز برزك امید دو پوس یاد دار      سیاوخش مه کهترین شهریار  
*be šahr andarān bod be rēš-ī spēd/māvindād-ī hōšang-u burzak umēd*  
*zi burzak umēd dō pus yād dār/syāvaxš meh kehtarīn šahryār*

In the city, with the white beard/were Māvindād son of Hōšang and Burzak son of Umēd. Remember the two sons of Burzak son of Umēd/(who are) Syāvaxš as the older and Šahryār as the younger (son).

As for *bwl(w)k*, it corresponds to *burzōy* (برزوی), *burzō* (برزو) and *burzōya* (برزویه), occurring several times in the early New Persian and Arabic sources.<sup>341</sup> Therefore, the spelling of *bwl(w)k* must be historical according to which it is transcribed as *burzōy* in the present edition. Nöldeke (1888: 4-31) investigates the Iranian names ending in *-ōy* and *-ōya* in the New Persian, Arabic, Greek, and Aramaic texts. He shows that *-ōya* (ویه) is an Arabic pronunciation of the Middle Persian suffix *-ōy*, making hypocoristic names. He confirms the Middle Iranian origin of the suffix *-ōy* by giving examples of the Iranian names in the Armenian, Greek and Syriac sources which end in *ōy* (Nöldeke 1888: 8-16). In addition, the

<sup>340</sup> See SgD. 111; DKhS. 272; Ln. Vol. III, 3685-3686, 3956, 4315-4319.

<sup>341</sup> For the names in the New Persian and Arabic sources see Justi (1895: 74). For *burzōy*, a Sasanian physician and the translator of the Sanskrit texts into Pahlavi see de Blois (1990).

name of *burzōy* (*bwrzwy*) appears in the Syriac text of the Christian martyrs as the name of a Christian master in the seventh century (Hoffmann 1880: 93). Rastorgueva and Molcanova (1981b: 195, §8) derive the suffix *-ōg* from *\*(a)va-ka*. Moreover, like Nöldeke, they suggest that the suffix originally had the diminutive sense (Rastorgueva and Molcanova 1981a: 70, §7). By contrast, Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 161, §309) states that the formation of the suffix *-ōg* is unclear in the Western Middle Iranian languages. As far as *\*brz-va-ka > burzōg > burzōy > burzō* is concerned, it, at least, agrees with the rules of the Indo-Iranian word formation according to which the suffix *-va* is attached to the zero grade of the verbs (Jackson 1892: 226, §819). In addition, the suffix *-ka* forms hypocoristic names (*AiGr.* II 2, 517, §361b). Moreover, the three stages of the suffix development of *-ōg > -ōy > -ō* are attested, for example in the Pahlavi historical spelling *bwlcwkw*, *burzōy* in the *Šāhnāma* (ed. Bertels, vol. VIII, 248, v 3342) and *burzō*, the name of a composer of the Persian *Rivāyat* in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Justi 1895: 74).

In conclusion, the evidence shows that *bwlck* or *bwlcwkw* is the name of an Avesta exegete. In the present edition, following the reading of the old YIndP J2, K5, *burzōy* is chosen.

As regards *burzōy*, the most important Sasanian figure who can be identified with the Avestan commentator is *burzōy*, the physician, living during the reign of Husraw I (531-579 AC), who translated *Pañcatantra* from Sanskrit into Middle Persian which is known in Arabic and New Persian as *Kalila va Dimna*. In the introduction of the text, found in all non-mutilated Arabic and old manuscripts,<sup>342</sup> Burzōya describes his father as a military man and associates his mother with the houses of scholars of the Zoroastrian religion:

KM. 79

إن أبي كان من المقاتلة و كانت امي من عظماء بيوت الزمازمة

*inna 'bi kāna min al-moqātīla wa kānat ummi min 'uẓmā' boyuti az-zamāzima*

My father was from the military and my mother from the houses of the greatest scholars of the Zoroastrian religion.<sup>343</sup>

Furthermore, Burzōy states in his autobiography that at the beginning 'I came to hold medicine in contempt and to long for religious studies'. However, later, he becomes suspicious to the legitimacy of all religions saying: 'In none of them (religions) I find that degree of honesty and rightmindedness which would induce rational persons to accept their words and be satisfied with them' (de Blois 1990: 26). Therefore, it is unlikely that the

<sup>342</sup> See de Blois (1990: 24-33).

<sup>343</sup> My translation.



Avestan commentator was the same person as the physician of the court of Husraw I.

The second nominee could be the Sasanian king Bahram V who, according to the Šāhnāma (ed. Bertels, vol. VII, 422, v 2071), went as a unanimous messenger from Iran to the court of the Indian king, Śengol and introduced himself as Burzōy:

گر از نام پرسیم برزوی نام      چنین خواندم شاه و هم باب و مام  
*gar az nām pursē-yam burzōy nām/čēnīn xvāndam šāh-u ham bāb-u mām*  
 if you ask the name, (my) name is Burzōy/king, father and mother called me such.<sup>344</sup>

However, it is obvious that Burzōy was Bahrām's fake name in the court of Śengol. Furthermore, no king is reported to be an exegete of the Avesta.

The third possible candidate, according to the Mu'jam al-Buldān, is a Zoroastrian from the city of Buxārā whose name according to Justi (1895: 74) is recorded in the manuscripts as either Burdzbih or Burzōy:

MB. Vol I, 35

ينسب إلى بخارى خلق كثير من أئمة في فنون شتى منهم إمام أهل الحديث أبو عبد الله محمد ابن اسماعيل ابن  
 إبراهيم ابن مغيرة ابن بردزبة و بردزبه مجوسي أسلم على يد يمان البخاري  
*yansibo ilā buxārā xalqon kaširon min 'ima fi fonuni šattā minhom imām 'hl 'l-hadiṣ*  
*'bu 'abd- 'llāh muḥammad ibn ismā'il ibn ibrāhīm ibn muqayrat ibn burdzbih (or burzōy)*  
*wa burdzbih majusi 'slama 'lā yadi yamān 'l-buxāri*

Many Imams in different fields are assigned to Buxārā; among them is the traditionalist Imam Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn Ibrahim Muqairat ibn Burdzbih (or Burzōy) and Burdzbih (or Burzōy) was a Zoroastrian who was converted to Islam by the hand of Yamān al-Buxari.<sup>345</sup>

However, it unclear whether or not Burzōy from Buxārā was a priest because *al-majus* is a general term in Arabic denoting “Zoroastrians” (Ambros 2004: 310). Moreover, converted people are infamous in the Zoroastrian literature. For example, the accursed Abālīh.<sup>346</sup> Therefore, it is unlikely that the name of Burzōy from Buxārā was recorded in the Zoroastrian texts as a commentator.

Thus, the Avestan commentator, Burzōy, cannot be identified with any of the characters mentioned above. However, the evidence shows that Burzōy was a common name in Iran. For example, Justi (1895: 74) reports seven characters called Burzōy, living from the sixth to seventeenth century. Therefore, Burzōy, the Avestan commentator of Y 9.5 according to

<sup>344</sup> My translation.

<sup>345</sup> My translation.

<sup>346</sup> See Chacha (1936).

YIndPs, is probably a new figure, unrelated to the known ones.

### 3) Line 10 Y 9.5cP *pid* “father”

Lines 9-10 appear as follows in the Iranian manuscripts with exception of F2:

YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6, T55b: *kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid  
ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn ī pus*<sup>347</sup>

By contrast, in YIrP F2; YIndP J2, K5 M1, *ud pid* appears between *kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid* and *ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn ī pus*. For example:

YIrP K5 (fol. 62r line 7-8): *kū pus ēdōn nēk būd pid  
ud pid ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn ī pus*

The mentioned passage has two sentences, both of which are governed by the verb *būd*. It is also obvious that the both sentences need a subject. However, the second sentence in the Iranian manuscripts is left subjectless. Without a subject, *ēdōn nēk būd čiyōn pus* “was as good as the son” is incomplete. It seems that the deletion of one *pid* is due to correction according to which it was considered as the erroneous repetition of former *pid*.<sup>348</sup>

### 4) Line 12 Y 9.5dP *jam ī [šēd]* “splendid Jam”

The manuscripts G14 and T6 write *jamšēd* (*ymšyt*) as the Pahlavi form of the Av. *yima-*, probably influenced by its corresponding unverbated form جمشید (= Phl. *jam ī šēd*) in New Persian. By contrast, the form appears as *jam ī šēd* in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, F2, T6, T55b and YIndP J2, K5, M1. In the present edition, employing *jam ī šēd*, *šēd* “splendid” is interpreted as the gloss to *jam*.

<sup>347</sup> For minor variations see text-critical apparatus.

<sup>348</sup> For correction see section 2.1 and 3.1.

#### 4.6 Y 9.6

- 1 (Y 9.6aA)** *kasə ʒβqm*  
**2** *bitiiō haōma mašiiō*  
**3** *astuuaiʒiiāi hunūta gaēʒiiāi*  
**4** *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*  
**5** *ciṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*

- 1-3 (Y 9.6aA)** Who, O Haōma, as the second mortal pressed you for the material creature?  
**4** What reward was granted to him?  
**5** What boon came to him?

- 1 (Y 9.6aP)** *kē tō*  
**2** *dudīgar hōm az mardōmān*  
**3** *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē*  
**4** *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard*  
**5** *[ān nēkīh kū tā-m bawād]*  
**6** *ud čē ō ōy mad ābādīh*

- 1-3 (Y 9.6aP)** Who, as the second one, O Hōm, among men in the material world pressed<sup>1</sup> you,  
**4** what respect was shown to him?<sup>2</sup>  
**5** [That goodness so that it will be mine],  
**6** and what prosperity<sup>3</sup> came to him?

##### 1) Line 3 Y 9.6aP *hunīd* “pressed”

Phl. *hunīd* in the ergative construction *hunīd hē*, renders 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. inj. *hunūta* “pressed”. In YIrP Pt4 (fol. 56r line 4), the subj. pres. *hunād* (*hwn'-t*)<sup>349</sup> replaces *hunīd*. However, elsewhere in Y 9.3, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, *hunūta* is correctly translated in Pt4. Therefore, it seems that *hunād* in Y 9.6 is to be regarded as a scribal unintentional mistake rather than a correction.

##### 2) Line 4 Y 9.6aP *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* “what respect was shown to him?”

The Pahlavi sentence *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* is the translation of Av. *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*. The words *kē ... tarsagāhīh* render Av. *kā ... ašiš* and Phl. *ān* “that” translates dat. sg. *ahmāi* “to him”. As far as the verb is concerned, the Avestan passive *ərənāuui* “was granted” of the root *ar* “to grant”<sup>350</sup> is translated by *kard* “did, performed” in Y 9.6 and

349 

350 For *ar* see Hintze (2000: 73f), Kümmel (2000: 253-255). For IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>er* see LIV 269-271.

elsewhere in Y 9 where *ərənāuuī* recurs.<sup>351</sup> In addition, the present stem of the root *ar* and its Pahlavi translation are attested in Y 52.3 and Y 56.3-4:

Y 52.3A ... *yaθanō mazištāscā vahištāscā sraēštāscā ašaiiō ərənauuaṇte*

(Good retributions and good rewards and better leaders) as the greatest and the best and the most beautiful rewards, will be granted to us.<sup>352</sup>

Y 52.3P ... *čiyōn amāh mahist ud pahlom ud nēktom tarsagāhīh kunēd*

(The better donation and better respect) like the greatest and the best and the most beautiful respect, are shown to us.<sup>353</sup>

Y 56.3A ... *vaṇhuiiāscā ašōiš yasnāi yā.nə āraēcā ərənauuataēcā ...*

and (May Sraoša be here) for the worship of good Reward that has been granted to us that will be granted to us ...<sup>354</sup>

Y 56.3P ... *ud pad hān ī weh tarsagāhīh yazišn kē amāh kardār hēm*  
[*yazišn kū-mān tuwān bawād kardan pad tarsagāhīh*]  
*ka ōh kunēm ā-mān ...*

(May there be hearkening<sup>355</sup> for the worship of the good waters, and for those and (of those) who are the good male and female beings, who are Amahraspands of good reign, the beneficent), the good and for the worship with good respect, whose performers we are.

[an act of worship which may it be possible for us to perform with respect],  
when we perform it in the usual way ...<sup>356</sup>

As mentioned above in Y 9, the *-i* passive form *ərənāuuī* is translated by the past stem *kard*. In Y 52.3 and Y 56.3, the Avestan 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. subj. middle *ərənauuaṇte* and 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. subj. mid. *ərənauuataēcā* are rendered by 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. ind. *kunēd* and 1<sup>st</sup> pl. pres. ind. *kunēm*, respectively. Therefore, the evidence shows that the verbs from the root *ar* “to grant” are translated in Pahlavi by *kardan* “to do, to perform”.

As far as the passive *ərənūuuī* is concerned, the ending *-i* is attached to the present stem. Although such passive verbs are usually formed by the attachment of *-i* to the aorist stem,

<sup>351</sup> Av. *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuuī* occurs in Y 9.3, 6, 9, 12 and its answer *hā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuuī* appears in Y 9.4, 7, 10, 13.

<sup>352</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: I, 186).

<sup>353</sup> My translation. The reason for translating *kardan* governing *tarsagāhīh* as “to show” appears at the end of the present commentary, also see section 1. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 229)

<sup>354</sup> The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 72-73).

<sup>355</sup> In the Pahlavi version of Y 56.3, *niyōxšīšn* translates *sraoša-*.

<sup>356</sup> The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 72-73). The Avestan and Pahlavi texts are repeated in Y 56.4 with minor variations.

there are isolated verbal forms in Young Avestan whose passive *-i* forms are made of other stems, i.e. *jaini* from the present stem *jan* of the root *jan* “to kill” and *āiḍi* from the perfect stem *ād-* of the root *ad* “to say”.<sup>357</sup> Since both *jaini* and *āiḍi* are found in Yt 19.92-93 and Yt 8.46, respectively, lacking the Pahlavi version, it is impossible to study their Pahlavi translation technique. By contrast, OAv. *auuācī* and *vācī* from the root *vak* “to say”, *cəuuīš* of the root *ciš* “to gather” and *srāuuī* from the root *srauu* “to hear” are translated in Pahlavi as follows:<sup>358</sup>

Y 36.6A. ... *yāṭ huuarē auuācī* ... [= Y 27.15]

(We now declare, O Ahura Mazdā, that this light here) was called the sun.<sup>359</sup>

Y 36.6P ... *kū ān ī xwaršēd guft* ...

... (the light) which was called the sun ...<sup>360</sup>

In the above example, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. passive aor. *auuācī* “was called” is rendered by the Pahlavi past tense *guft* which can be translated as either “said, called” or “was said, was called”. However, according to the agentless *kū ān ī xwaršēd guft*, it should be interpreted as the passive.

In the Pahlavi version of Y 43.13, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. passive aor. *vācī* “was said” is rendered by the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. ind. past *guft* “said, announced”:

Y 43.13A ... *tām mōi dātā*

*darəgahiiā yaoš* ...

*vairiiā stōiš yā 9βahmī xša9rōi vācī*

.... give (Ahura Mazdā) this

of the long life to me, ...

that of a chosen existence which was said (to be) under your rule.<sup>361</sup>

Y 43.13P *ān ō man dahēd [mizd]*

*pad dagr-rasišnīh ī gyān [pad tan ī pasēn]...*

<sup>357</sup> Kellens (1984: 45, fn. 3) points out that since the formation of *-i* passive from the perfect stem is unlikely, it is better either to emend *āiḍi* to *āide*, according to the reading of the Yašt manuscript J10, or to interpret it as the 2<sup>nd</sup> ipt. pres. of the stem *ā-i-* “to come”.

<sup>358</sup> See Hoffmann & Forssman (1996: 228, §133.3) and Martinez & de Vaan (2014: 89, §32.1c). Moreover, *mraoī* in Y 32.14 which is conventionally regarded as the *-i* aorist form, has been challenged by Humbach (1959: II, 37) according to whom the aorist stem of the root *mrū* is supplemented by the root *vac* “to speak”. Therefore, Pahlavi translation of *mraoī* is not discussed in the present edition. For the translation technique of the aorist verbs see Cantera (2004: 289-290).

<sup>359</sup> Edition and translation by Hintze (2007a: 147).

<sup>360</sup> My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 170).

<sup>361</sup> My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 114) and Insler (1975: 65), also see Humbach (1991: I, 155).

*pad kāmāg ēstād u-š ēd ī tō xwadāyīh guft ...*

He gives it [reward] to me,

in a long arriving of life, [in the final body] ...

He stood at (your) wish and this is that he announced your lordship ...<sup>362</sup>

In contrast to Av. *vācī*, the Pahlavi verb *guft* in Y 43.13 governs an active sentence whose agent is the enclitic pronoun *-š*. In Y 51.15, *cəuuīšī* “was promised” is translated by *čāšīd* “taught”:

Y 51.15A ... *tā vō vohū manāḡhā ašāicā sauuāiš cəuuīšī*

... because of it (Zaraḡuštra’s promise), (the award) has been promised to you all with abundance by Vohu Manah and Aša.<sup>363</sup>

Y 51.15P ... *ān ī ašmā wahman pad ahlāyīh sūd čāšīd*  
[*kū sūd pad frārōnīh kunēd*]

Whman taught the benefit to you through righteousness

[That means: He makes benefit by honesty].<sup>364</sup>

A comparison between two versions of Y 51.15 shows that while the inst. sg. *ašāicā* “and with Aša (Truth)” is rendered by *pad ahlāyīh* “through righteousness”, the inst. sg. *vohū manāḡhā* “with the Good Thought” and inst. pl. *sauuāiš* “with benefits” are given in the Pahlavi versions as *wahman* “Good Thought” and *sūd* “benefit” without a preposition, expressing the Avestan instrumental case. Therefore, it seems that *wahman* and *sūd* are to be considered as the subject and object of the verb *čāšīd* “taught”, respectively. Regarding the translation of *ašmā* as oblique, corresponding to Av. *vō* “to you”, it should be mentioned that as discussed below, the Avestan dative can also be expressed in Pahlavi by placing the words near the beginning of the verse.

As far as Av. *srāuuī* “was famed, was heard” is concerned, it occurs in Y 45.10 and Y 53.1:

Y 45.10A *tām nē yasnāiš ārmatōiš mimayžō*  
*yē qnmēnī mazdā srāuuī ahurō ...*

<sup>362</sup> My translation. Edition by Malandra & Ichaporia (2010: 57).

<sup>363</sup> My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 154) and Insler (1975: 107). Although *cəuuīšī* is widely regarded by scholars as 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. *-i* passive aorist, Humbach translates it as “*verspreche ich*” (= I promise). However, 1<sup>st</sup> sg. inj. aor. appears as *cōišām* in Avestan (Kellens 184: 355). Furthermore, Humbach leaves *vohū manāḡhā* untranslated. Insler also emends *tā* to *taḡ* in his edition which is absent in the manuscripts. Also see Humbach (1991: I, 189).

<sup>364</sup> My translation.

I shall give presents to him for us with the worship of right-mindedness,  
the Wise who was famed in soul, the Lord ...<sup>365</sup>

Y 45.10P *ān ī ōy yazišn amāh pad bowandag menišnīh hamēšag menišn  
kē pad any nāmīh srūd ēstēd xwadāy ī dānāg ...*

By the worship, we (are) in right-mindedness, eternal-mindedness,  
who was proclaimed with another name, Wise Lord ...<sup>366</sup>

Y 53.1A *vahištā īštiš srāuuī zaraθuštrahē ...*

The best wish of Zarθuštra Spitāma was heard ...<sup>367</sup>

Y 53.1P *pahlom xwāhišnīh sraw ī zardušt ...*

The best wish (is) the word of Zardušt ....<sup>368</sup>

According to the Pahlavi version of Y 45.10, Av 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. passive aor. *srāuuī* “was famed” is translated by *srūd* “recited, proclaimed” in combination with the auxiliary *ēstēd* in a passive context. By contrast, in Y 53.1, *srāuuī* “was heard” is rendered by the Pahlavi noun *sraw* “word”. Apart from Y 45.10 and Y 53.1, *srāuuī* also appears in Y 32.8:

Y 32.8A *aēšqm aēnaḥqm vīuun<sup>v</sup>hušō srāuuī yimasciṭ ...*

Even Yima of Vīuuan<sup>v</sup>haṇt was tried for these sins ...<sup>369</sup>

Y 32.8P *awēšān [dēwān] kēnīg [wināhgār] an ī wiwanghānān jam srūd ...*

Jam son of Wiwanghān was proclaimed by those [demons], malicious [offender] ...<sup>370</sup>

In the Pahlavi version of Y32.8, *srūd* “proclaimed” in *awēšān [dēwān] kēnīg [wināhgār] an ī wiwanghānān jam srūd* (word for word translation): “them-[demons]-malicious-[offender] that-of-son of-Wiwanghān-Jam-proclaimed” could be interpreted as either a passive or an active verb. But since the context is about the trial of Yima and *awēšān ... kēnīg* corresponds to gen. pl. *aēšqm aēnaḥqm*, therefore, the sentence should be agentless and consequently, the passive translation of the verb seems to be more justifiable.

Finally, in *FīO.* 215, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. passive aor. *vərəði* “(s/he) was grown” is translated by *wālīd ēstē* “(you) were grown, (you) may be grown”.<sup>371</sup>

<sup>365</sup> My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 127) and Insler (1975: 77), also see Humbach (1991: I, 166).

<sup>366</sup> My translation. Edition by Malandra & Ichaporia (2010: 65).

<sup>367</sup> The text is after Insler (1975: 111).

<sup>368</sup> My translation. Edition by Malandra & Ichaporia (2010: 90).

<sup>369</sup> The text is after Insler (1975: 47).

<sup>370</sup> My translation. Edition by Malandra & Ichaporia (2010: 150-151).

<sup>371</sup> For a discussion see Cantera (2004: 282, fn. 90).

According to the above examples, the Pahlavi translations of *-i* passive forms outside the Hōm Yasht can be summarized as below:

Avesta	Pahlavi
Y 36.6 <i>auuācī</i> “was called”	<i>guft</i> “was said, was called”:
Y 43.13 <i>vācī</i> “was said”	<i>guft</i> “said”
Y 51.15 <i>cəuuīšī</i> “was promised”	<i>čāšīd</i> “taught”
Y 45.10 <i>srāuuī</i> “was famed”	<i>srūd ēstēd</i> “was proclaimed”
Y 53.1 <i>srāuuī</i> “was heard”	<i>sraw</i> “word”
Y 32.8 <i>srāuuī</i> “was tried”	<i>srūd</i> “was proclaimed”
<i>FīO vərəði</i> “(s/he) is grown”	<i>wālīd ēstē</i> “(you) are grown”

According to the table, in four out of six instances (Y 36.6; 45.10; 32.8; *FīO*. 215), *-i* aorist passive verbs are rendered by the Pahlavi past tense verbs in passive sentences. In two examples (Y 43.13, 51.15), the Pahlavi past tense *guft* and *cāšīd* “taught” are transitive. In Y 53.1, *srāuuī* “was heard” is rendered by the Pahlavi noun *sraw* “word” and in the last example from *FīO*. 215, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. *vərəði* is given by 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. *wālīd ēstē* “(you) are grown”. In conclusion, according to the evidence, the translation of *-i* passive aorist verbs is inconsistent in Pahlavi and it seems that translators did not know the function of the ending *-i*.

Regarding the Phl. *ān*, translating dat. *ahmāi*, in *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard* in Y 9.6 and other stanzas with the similar formulaic structure,<sup>372</sup> Josephson (1997: 127) states that:

‘Sometimes the dative case encoding a word is not rendered by a preposition. In these passages dative case is indicated by the positioning of the word near the beginning of the verse where it stands unmarked.’

Therefore, *ān* is translated as “to him” in the present edition. Moreover, Phl. *tarsagāh*, literally meaning “the consciousness of fear or awe”, is regularly used to render the Avestan common noun *aši-* “reward”. It has been interpreted as “obedient”, “pious”, “respectful”, “devoted”, “reverent”, and “reverential” by scholars.<sup>373</sup> Its abstract noun or *tarsagāhīh*,

<sup>372</sup> Y 9.3, 9 and 12.

<sup>373</sup> See Dhabhar (1949: Gloss 94); MacKenzie (1971: 82); Kreyenbroek (1985: 76).

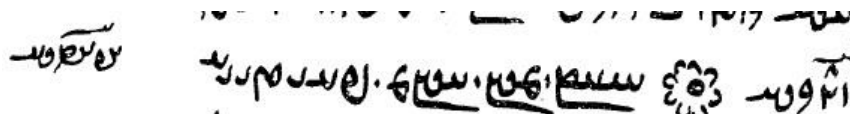


occurring in Y 9.3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, is also interpreted as “obedience”, “devotion”, “reverence”, “respect”, “veneration”, “piety”, “dutiful, submission” and “consideration”.<sup>374</sup> Based on the Av. *ašī-*, Josephson (1997: 44) translates it as “reward”. In the present edition “respect” is chosen while it is also possible to replace it with other interpretations. Since *kē ... tarsagāhīh kard* can no longer be translated “what respect was made” in English, it is translated by “what respect was shown” in the present edition.

### 3) Line 6 Y 9.6aP *ābādīh* “prosperity”

Elsewhere in Y 9, Av. *āiiapta-* has consistently been translated in the collated manuscripts by *ābādīh* which also renders Av. *vohu-* in *vīspa- vohu-* “all good (things)”.<sup>375</sup> However, in Y 9.6, *ābādīh* only occurs in J2. It is replaced by *nēkīh* in YIrP Pt4, F2, T5b and YIndP K5, M1. By contrast, in YIrP G14 and T6, *nēkīh ud ābādīh* appears. Writing *nēkīh*, Mf4 writes *ābādīh* in the margin of p. 153:

Figure 29. YIrP Mf4 (p. 151 line 3).



As regards the editorial judgement, all of the mentioned variant readings semantically fit the context, however, as mentioned above, *ābādīh* is the expected translation of Av. *āiiapta-*. Furthermore, the question *ud čē ō ōy mad ābādīh/nēkīh* in Y 9.6 is answered by *ud ō ōy mad ābādīh* in Y 9.7. Therefore, the reading of J2, or the sister manuscript of the base text K5, is employed in the present edition. This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

<sup>374</sup> See Davar (1904: 30); Mills (1903c: 319); Dhabhar (1949: gloss 94); MacKenzie (1971: 82).

<sup>375</sup> For the Pahlavi translation of *vīspa- vohu-* see Cantera (2004: 180).

#### 4.7 Y 9.7

**1 (Y 9.7aA)** *ātaṭ mē aēm paitiiaoxta*  
**2** *haōmō ašauua dūraošō*  
**3 (Y 9.7bA)** *āṯṯiiō mām bitiiō mašiiō*  
**4** *astuuaiṯiiāi hunūta gaēṯiiāi*  
**5** *hā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*  
**6** *taṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*  
**7 (Y 9.7cA)** *yaṭ hē puṯra us.zaiiata*  
**8** *vīsō.sūraiīā ṯraētaonō*

**1 (Y 9.7aA)** Thereupon, he answered me  
**2** the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult:  
**3-4 (Y 9.7bA)** *Āṯṯiia*, as the second mortal, pressed me for the material creature.  
**5** This reward was granted to him,  
**6** this boon came to him,  
**7 (Y 9.7cA)** that a son was born to him,  
**8** *Ṭraētaona* of powerful clan.

**1 (Y 9.7aP)** *ō man ōy passōx guft*  
**2** *hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*  
**3 (Y 9.7bP)** *āspiyān man dudīgar az mardōmān*  
**4** *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd ham*  
**5** *ōy ān tarsagāhīh kard*  
**6** *ud ō ōy mad ābādīh*  
**7 (Y 9.7cP)** *kē az ōy pus ul zād*  
**8** *kē abzārwis frēdōn*  
**9** *[hād abzārwisīh ēd būd kū*  
**10** *xānag-ē az abarmānd ī pidarān was būd*  
**11** *ān-iz ī dahāg pad stahmakīh abāz grift*  
**12** *u-š xwadāyīh ēd xwēšāwandīh paydāg nē būd ōy dāšt]*

**1 (Y 9.7aP)** He answered me,  
**2** Hōm, who is righteous (and) averts perdition:  
**3-4 (Y 9.7bP)** *Āspiyān* as the second one among men pressed me in the material world.  
**5** The respect was shown to him,  
**6** and the prosperity came to him,<sup>1</sup>  
**7 (Y 9.7cP)** that a son was born from him,  
**8** who is Frēdōn of the powerful clan.  
**9** [That is: Being of powerful clan was this that<sup>2</sup>  
**10** there was a house (full of) many (instruments) from the inheritance of ancestors<sup>3</sup>  
**11** that which Dahāg had taken with violence  
**12** and his lordship is this: He preserved the relativeness which was not obvious].

**1) Line 6 Y 9.7bP** *ō ōy mad ābādīh* “the prosperity came to him”

In YIrP Pt4, Mf4 and T55b, *ōy* is followed by *ān*, making the sentence *ō ōy ān mad ābādīh*. It seems that as a gloss, *ān* “that” should be associated with *ābādīh*: “to him that prosperity came”. However, apart from Y 9.7, in the mentioned manuscripts, *ān* is absent in their texts of Y 9.3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13 in which the same formulaic structure *ō ōy mad ābādīh* occurs. In the present edition, in agreement with YIndP J2, K5, M1 and YIrP G14 F2 T6, *ōy* is only employed.

**2) Line 9 Y 9.7cP** *hād abzārwiš ēd būd kū* “That is: Being of powerful clan was this that”

In Y 9.7, Frēdōn carries the epithet *abzārwiš* which is the translation of the Avestan word *vīsō.sūraiiā*. According to the commentary, he was given this epithet because of his victory over Dahāg and returning the inheritance which Dahāg had taken with force. In addition to *abzārwiš*, Frēdōn bears the epithets *pur.pērōzgar* “very victorious”, *tagīg* “valiant” and *zōrīg* “powerful” in the Pahlavi literature because of his triumph over Dahāg (Tafazzoli 1999: 531).

Regarding the reading *ēd* (*HN*) “this”, it is replaced by *’w* in YIrP Pt4, T55b.<sup>376</sup> Moreover, in YIrP Mf4, both variants are attested as *’w HN*. As discussed in section 2.1 and 3.1, the larger degree of variation in the YIrP manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line<sup>377</sup> is one of the features suggesting scribal correction. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, the evidence favours *ēd* because it is attested in both old YIrP J2, K5 and YIrP Mf4, G14, T6 of the Hōšang ī Syāwaxš-line. Furthermore, the reading of YIndPs and YIrP manuscripts G14, F2, T6 agrees with *ēd kū* formula which is often used to introduce short explanatory commentaries.<sup>378</sup> Moreover, *abzārwiš ēd* forms the *ēd ... ēd* repetition style with the following *xwadāyīh ēd*:

*hād abzārwiš ēd būd kū*  
*xānag-ē az abarmānd ī pidarān was būd*  
*ān-iz ī dahāg pad stahmakīh abāz grift*  
*u-š xwadāyīh ēd xwēšāwandīh paydāg nē būd ōy dāšt*

<sup>376</sup> Preceding the verb *būd* “was”, the likeliest reading of the spelling *’w* is *ōh* “in the usual way”.

<sup>377</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

<sup>378</sup> For *ēd kū* formula see Cantera (2015a).

For *kū*, it appears as *kū-š* in YIrP F2, YIndP J2. However, as far as the editorial judgement is concerned, in agreement with the reading of the base text, the variant *kū* is employed in the present edition.

**3) Line 10 Y 9.7cP** *xānag-ē az abarmānd ī pidarān was būd* “there was a house (full of) many (instruments) from the inheritance of ancestors”

With the exception of YIrP F2 and YIndP J2, Phl. *xānag* is followed by 𐬨 according to whose position in the sentence, it can only be interpreted as the indefinite article *ē*. Moreover, Phl. *was* is omitted in YIrP G14 and T6.<sup>379</sup> By contrast, it is attested in its related Iranian manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line<sup>380</sup> and the old YIndP J2 and K5. Therefore, in agreement with the reading of the majority of manuscripts, *was* is employed in the present edition. As far as the noun of *was* adj. is concerned, the adjective occurs in *hād abzārwisīh ēd būd kū xānag-ē az abarmānd ī pidarān was būd ān-iz ī dahāg pad stahmakīh abāz grift*. The Pahlavi sentences after *ēd* explain why Frēdōn is called *abzārwis*. It seems that *xānag* is the gloss to *wis*, the first element of *abzārwisīh*. As regards *abzār*, in Pahlavi, it can mean either “power, skill, powerful” or “instrument, means”.<sup>381</sup> According to the context of the passage, the Pahlavi commentator probably considered the second meaning of *abzār* and associated it with *was* “many”. Therefore, the commentary explains that there were many instruments (*abzār*) in the *wis* i. e. *xānag* “house” but they were usurped by Dahāg. Later, Frēdōn took them after his victory over Dahāg.

<sup>379</sup> According to the Gujarati colophon of T6, it was copied from G14. See section 2.2.

<sup>380</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

<sup>381</sup> See MacKenzie (1971: 4).

## 4.8 Y 9.8

1 (Y 9.8aA) *yō janaṭ aṣīm dahākəm*  
 2 *ḡri.zaḡanəm ḡri.kāmərəḡəm*  
 3 *xšuuāš.aṣīm hazanṛā.yaoxštīm*  
 4 (Y 9.8bA) *aš.aojaṇhəm daēuuīm drujəm*  
 5 *aṇəm gaēḡāuuuioḡ druuaṇtəm*  
 6 (Y 9.8cA) *yəm aš.aojastəməm drujəm*  
 7 *ḡraḡa kərənṭaṭ aṇrō maṇiiuš*  
 8 *aoi yəm astuuaitīm gaēḡəm*  
 9 *mahrkāi ašahe gaēḡanəm*

1 (Y 9.8aA) Who slew the dragon Dahāka,  
 2 the three-muzzled, three headed,  
 3 six-eyed, having a thousand skills,  
 4 (Y 9.8bA) the very powerful, the Demoness Deceit,  
 5 wicked for the living creatures, deceitful,  
 6 (Y 9.8cA) whom as the most powerful Deceit  
 7 the Evil Spirit mis-created  
 8 against the material world  
 9 for the destruction of the creature of the Truth.

1 (Y 9.8aP) *kē-š zad az ī dahāg*  
 2 *ī sē zafar ī sē kamāl*  
 3 *ī šaš aš ī hazārwiḡstār [ī adādag pad gōhrag]*  
 4 (Y 9.8bP) *was ōz dēw druz*  
 5 *ī wattar ō gēhān [zyān kār] ī druwand*  
 6 (Y 9.8cP) *kē-š was ōztom druz*  
 7 *ḡrāz kirrēnīd gannāg mēnōy*  
 8 *abar ō astōmandān gēhān*  
 9 *pad margīh ī ān ahlāyīh ī gēhān*  
 10 *[kū-š az druz ī gēṭīy ēk ān stahmagtar dād*  
 11 *kō ḡḡəm yim ahurəm mazdəm*  
 12 *ān ēd āmār kū*  
 13 *har ān zyān ī-š pad dāmān ī ōhrmazd tuwān būd*  
 14 *ā-š be kard*  
 15 *ud im būd tis ī-š tuwān būd kardan*  
 16 *u-š nē kard]*

1 (Y 9.8aP) Who slew<sup>1</sup> the dragon Dahāg<sup>2</sup>,  
 2 the three-muzzled, three-headed,  
 3 six-eyed, (having the skills of) a thousand investigators<sup>3</sup> [who is unjust by essence],  
 4 (Y 9.8bP) of many powers<sup>4</sup> Demon(ess) Deceit,<sup>5</sup>  
 5 worse for the material world<sup>6</sup> [doer of harm], deceitful  
 6 (Y 9.8cP) whom as the most powerful Deceit,  
 7 the Evil Spirit mis-created<sup>7</sup>  
 8 against the material world,  
 9 for the destruction of the righteousness of the world

10 [which he, among the deceit of the world, created that one the more oppressive  
 11 *Who (grieves) you, who are Ahura Mazdā?*  
 12 that the reckoning of this<sup>8</sup> is that  
 13 each harm which could be done by her against the creatures of Ohrmazd  
 14 then, she did<sup>9</sup>  
 15 and this meant the thing that she could do,<sup>10</sup>  
 16 he did not do].

**1) Line 1 Y 9.8aP *kē-š zad* “Who slew”**

In the Pahlavi version of YIrP Pt4 (superscript, fol. 56v line 1), G14 (fol. 55r line 8) and T6 (fol. 46v line 2-3), the commentary *kū band kard* “that means: He fettered” is inserted between *kē-š zad* “who slew” and *az ī dahāg* “the dragon Dahāg”. It is omitted in the present edition because as discussed in section 2.1 and 3.1, the manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line<sup>382</sup> have the features of Jāmāsp’s post arrival corrected manuscripts. One of these features, is the presence of commentaries which are absent in the older copies. The suggested correction is corroborated by the fact that the commentary is absent in Mf4 and T55b. The former contains the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš and T55b is closely related to Pt4. Furthermore, in Pt4, the New Persian object postposition *rāy* follows *dahāg* in *kē-š zad kū band kard az ī dahāg rāy*. It shows that under the influence of New Persian, the scribe of Pt4 corrected the construction of the text from the ergative to its accusative counterpart.

The inserted commentary in Pt4, G14 and T6 shows the influence of a story which is absent in the Avesta. According to the Pahlavi literature, Ohrmazd warned Frēdōn not to kill the dragon Dahāg lest creatures be born from his dead body:

Dk. Book VI. ...*frēdōn az ī dahāg ōzadan kāmīst ohrmazd guft kū-š nūn ma ōzan čē purr ī*<sup>383</sup> *ēn zamīg xrafstar bawēd.*

Frēdōn wanted to kill Az ī Dahāg. Ohrmazd said that do not kill him now, because this earth may become full of noxious animals.<sup>384</sup>

Therefore, Frēdōn fettered Dahāg who will be slain by Kirsāsp in the final battle at the end of the world:

<sup>382</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

<sup>383</sup> As pointed out by Shaked (1979: 284), the syntax of *purrr ī ēn zamīg xrafstar bawēd* is unusual which could be explained by suggesting that the text is based on a lost Avestan original. The expected syntax would be *purrr ī xrafstar ēn zamīg bawēd*.

<sup>384</sup> Edition and translation by Shaked (1979: 134-135).

IrBd 33.33-35 *pas nazd ō hazārag sar ī ušēdarmāh dahāg az band harzag bawēd  
bēwarasp was dām ud dahišn pad dēw kāmāgīh wināhēd  
ud andar ān hangām sōšyāns ī zardušt ō paydāgīh rasēd  
ud sīh rōz ud šab xwaršēd pad bālist ī āsmān be ēstēd  
nazdist az gētīyān rist ī sāmān kirsāsp ul hangēzēnd  
ī bēwarasp pad gad zanēd ud ōzanēd ...*

Then, near into the end of Ušēdarmāh's millennium, Dahāg will be free from fetters,  
Bēwarasp will injure many creatures and creation with the dēwic desire,  
and at that time Sōšyāns, son of Zardušt, will appear,  
and for thirty days and nights, the sun will stand at the zenith of the sky.  
Of earthly beings, they will first raise the dead body of Kirsāsp, son of Sām,  
who will smite and kill Bēwarasp with the mace...<sup>385</sup>

By contrast, in the Avesta, Ōraētaona is never described as a hero captor. For example,  
according to Vd. 1.17, Ōraētaona was born in Varəna to slay the dragon Dahāka:

Vd. 1. 17 *caθru.dasəm asanḥamca šōiθranqmca vahištəm fraθβarəsəm  
azəm yō ahurō mazdā  
varənəm yim caθru.gaošəm  
yahmāi zaiiata θraētaonō  
janta ažōiš dahākāi ...*

and the fourteenth of the best places and lands that I, who am Ahura Mazdā, created  
(was) the four-cornered Vara  
for which, Ōraētaona was born  
as the killer of the dragon Dahāka...<sup>386</sup>

Therefore, two contradictory conclusions can be drawn: 1) Similar to the account of Alexander, two stories about Ōraētaona existed in parallel from the beginning namely the dragon captor vs. dragon slayer hero;<sup>387</sup> 2) The story of the fettered dragon is a late introduction to the Zoroastrian system of belief.<sup>388</sup>

As far as the story of Ōraētaona in the Avesta is concerned, its cognate, or Traitana, only occurs once in the Rig-veda:

RV 1.158.5. *nā mā garan nadīo mātṛtamā dāsā yād īm súsamubdham avādhuḥ  
śīro yād asya traitanó vitákṣat svayám dāsá úro āṃsāv āpi gdha*<sup>389</sup>

<sup>385</sup> The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 280-283).

<sup>386</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 6).

<sup>387</sup> For Alexander see Nöldeke (1890).

<sup>388</sup> Boyce (1975a: Vol. I, 283) suggests that the myth of the fettered *az ī dahāg* 'evolved a pattern whereby all representatives of the powers of evil will be gathered again for their final defeat at the end of the world.'

<sup>389</sup> Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 94).

(A man who is bound and tossed into rivers by Dāsas says) ‘The rivers, best of mothers, will not swallow me!’, (he cried) when the Dāsas sank him, tightly bound, when Traitana hewed away the head, the Dāsa himself ate his own chest and shoulders.<sup>390</sup>

It is evident that in contrast to the Avesta, the Vedic Traitana is described as a demonic creature, or Dāsa. However, in the Vedic mythology, there is another hero called Trita whose name is also another cognate of Ōraētaona derived from IE *\*trito-* “third” (Lincoln 1981: 104). By comparing the similarities between the Vedic myth of Trita and that of Ōraētaona, Spiegel (1887: 262-267) and Benveniste (1934: 195-196) mention that Trita is the hero counterpart of Ōraētaona. Moreover, as pointed out by Watkins (1995: 321-322), the Avestan and Vedic stories of Ōraētaona and Trita follow the following mythological IE formula:

Hero slays (*\*g<sup>wh</sup>wen-*) serpent.

As far as the the dragon captor heroes in IE mythology are concerned, Zeus brings down Mount Etna on the body of Typhon (Penglase 1994: 195). Furthermore, in the Norse mythology, the wolf monster Fenrir is bound by the gods. At the end of the world, Fenrir slays the god Odin, but the son of Odin namely Vídar smashes the wolf and thus prevents him from destroying the cosmos (Lindow 2002: 111-113, 312-314). There are also parallels in the Mesopotamian mythology. For example, in the Akkadian myth of creation (Enuma-Elish) the god Sirsir ‘heaped up a mountain over Ti’āmat and who with his weapon dragged off the body of Ti’āmat’ (Heidel 1951: 57).

It can be concluded that even if the captor hero is an IE-Mesopotamian concept, it is absent in the early Iir. accounts of Ved. Trita and Av. Ōraētaona. By contrast, as far as the dragon captor hero in the Avesta is concerned, Taxma Urupi Azinauuant is a hero who rules over the demons and subdued the Evil Spirit:

Yt 19. 29. *yaṭ bauuaṭ aiβi.vaniiā*  
*vīspe daēuua mašiiāca*  
*vīspe yātauuō pairikāśca*  
*yaṭ barata aṇrəm mainīum*  
*framitəm aspahe kəhrpa*  
*ḡrisatəm aiβi.gāmanqm*

<sup>390</sup> Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 337).



*uua pairi zəmə karana*

So that he (Taxma Urupi Azinauuant) overcame  
all demons and mortals  
all wizards and witches.  
(It accompanied him) when he rode the Evil Spirit,  
transformed into the shape of a horse,  
for thirty steps,  
around both edges of the earth.<sup>391</sup>

Moreover, in the Šāhnāma (ed. Bertels, vol. I, 36-38, vv 1-46), the New Persian variant of Taxma Urupi, or Tahmuras, carries the epithet *dēv band* (دیو بند) “demon fetterer” as he binds Ahriman and other demons.<sup>392</sup>

Therefore, as far as the original story of Av. *ṡraētaona-* is concerned, the evidence suggests that he was a dragon slayer by whom Dahāka was smashed. However, as stated above, although according to the Avestan literature, *ṡraētaona* is a dragon slayer, in the Pahlavi literature, Kirsāsp takes over his role by killing Dahāg at the end of the world. It should be noted that the two slayers of the dragon Dahāg in Pahlavi and Avesta could originally have been a single figure because Av. *ṡraētaona-* is the son of Av. *āṡβiia-* and Av. *kərəsāspa-* is the son of Av. *ṡrita-*. Both *ṡrita* and *Āṡβiia* were probably one figure, or Ir.\**trita- ātpia-*, corresponding to Ved. *trita- āptya-* “third Āptya”.<sup>393</sup> However, the Avestan and Pahlavi traditions also show an important discrepancy according to which Av. *dahāka-* was slain before Zaratuštra’s birth (see Y 9.3-14) whereas according to the Pahlavi literature, he will be killed at the end of the cosmic battle. The reason for the Pahlavi innovation may lie in the fact that his status was changed from the immortal into mortal by Ahriman:

MX. 8. 27-28. *čē paydāg kū ohrmazd jam ud frēdōn ud kāwōs ahōš dād hēnd  
ud ahriman ēdōn wardēnīd čiyōn āšnāg*<sup>394</sup>

It is clear that Ohrmaz created Jam, Frēdōn and Kāwōs immortal and Ahriman altered (their status) as it is known.<sup>395</sup>

Therefore, Frēdōn could be considered no longer as the dragon slayer of the dragon

<sup>391</sup> Edition and translation by Hintze (1994b: 20).

<sup>392</sup> For Taxma Urupi in the Mazdean and Islamic sources see Christensen (1917: 137ff.).

<sup>393</sup> See Geiger (1916: 59); Boyce (1975: Vol I, 98); Sarkarati (1999 (1378): 244-245).

<sup>394</sup> For the Pahlavi text see <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/miran/mpers/mx/mx.htm>; Data entry by MacKenzie (1993); corrections by Jügel (2007-2008); TITUS version by Gippert (1998-2008).

<sup>395</sup> My translation.

Dahāg in the final battle.

**2) Line 1 Y 9.8aP** *az ī dahāg* “the dragon Dahāg”

In the Iranian manuscripts G14 (fol. 55r line 8) and T6 (fol. 46v line 3), *az ī dahāg* appears as the unverbated *azdahāg*, corresponding to New Persian Aždahā. However, in the Avestan original, Av. *aži-* and Av. *dahāka-* are treated as two separate words. In the other collated manuscripts, they are correctly rendered as Phl. *az ī dahāg* in which the *ezāfa ī* relates *az* and *dahāg*.

**3) Line 3 Y 9.8aP** *hazār-wizōstār* “(having the skills of) a thousand investigators”

The Pahlavi agent noun *hazār-wizōstār* renders the Avestan adjective *hazānrā.yaoxšti-* which is a compound consisted of *hazānrā-* “thousand” and the abstract noun *yaoxšti-* whose etymology and meaning have been the subject of extensive debates among scholars. Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1797) translated Av. *hazānrā.yaoxšti-* as “having one thousand skills”. He interpreted Av. *yaoxšti-* as the *ti-* abstract noun derived from the *s*-aorist stem of the root *yaog* “to yoke” (*AirWb.* 1229-1230). It should also be noted that although the verbal roots in *ti-* abstract are usually in zero grade, they also occur in full grade, for example, the well-known epithet of Miθra, or *vouru.gaoiiaoi-*, “providing wide cattle pastures” in which *oiiaoi-* is of the root *yauu* “to move” (Bailey 1954: 138).<sup>396</sup> Bartholomae’s view was accepted in the last etymological studies of the word by Narten (1986: 198) and Hintze (1994a: 100) with whom it is translated as “having a thousand skills” in the present edition.<sup>397</sup>

<sup>396</sup> For the *ti*-abstract words with verbal roots in full grade see (*AiGr.* II 2, 630-631, §467b).

<sup>397</sup> Deriving the root from Av. *yaoz* “to be in commotion”, Geldner (1882: 61) argues that the etymological study of the root is insufficient for a conclusive semantic interpretation of the word *yaoxšti-* and it should be analysed in its context. Therefore, he interprets *yaoxšti-* in Yt 10.35 as “sense, perception” (Geldner 1882: 61-64). With Geldner, Darmesteter (1898: II, 139-140, 147) translates *hazānrā.yaoxšti-* as “thousand senses”.<sup>397</sup> Hübschmann (1897: 199) compares the Armenian verbal root *yuiž* “to search” with Av. *yaoz* “to be in commotion”. Considering the Armenian verbal root, Gershevitch (1967: 187) mentions that there should be a second root beside *yaoz* “to be in commotion” according to which the abstract *yaoxšti-* meant originally as “faculty of investigation” which from the semantic point of view, can be compared with Ved. *dṛṣṭi-* “eyesight”. Therefore, Gershevitch (1967: 187) translates *yaoxšti-* in Yt 10 as “perception”. By contrast, Narten (1986: 198, fn 21) casts doubt on Gershevitch’s comparison with Vd. *dṛṣṭi-* as the two different verbal roots are not comparable. Hintze (1994: 99) also states that relating Av. *yaoxšti-* to the root *yaoz* is unconvincing for semantic grounds. Bailey (1936: 99) associates Av. *yaoxšti-* with the Sogdian verb *ywc* “to teach”. To explain *y*, he suggests an IE *\*jeuk* beside *\*euk* “to accustom”. However, as pointed out by Hintze (1994: 100), it is also possible to derive the Sogdian verb from either IE *\*ui-aucja-* or IE *\*nij-aucja-* both of which from the well-attested IE *\*euk*. Additionally, she states that the corresponding Avestan root *yauk* “to teach” is absent in the Avesta.

The Pahlavi corresponding word *hazār wizōstār* is translated by Davar (1904: 305) as “with thousand observer powers, or senses”. By contrast, Josephson (1997: 49) translates it as “with a thousand skills”.<sup>398</sup> It seems that in their editions, the Pahlavi word is treated similar to its Avestan counterpart. However, the meaning of the agent noun *hazār wizōstār* should be different from its Avestan abstract counterpart. From the etymological point of view, the Pahlavi *wizōstār* is derived from the Ilr. root *\*caud* “to impel” to which the preverb *wi-* is attached (Cheung 2007: 57). In Pahlavi, the verb *wizōstan* denotes “to search, to investigate”:

MHD. A13,13-15 *tan kē dārišn ī pad zēndān paydāg*  
*dādwār pad wizōyišn mad ēstēd be wizōst wināhkārīh-ē nē paydāg pad kardag*  
*az zēndān be nē hilēnd*

A body (or man) who is clear to be held in prison  
 (and) for the investigation, a judge has come (and) searched. An offence is not obvious  
 for the deed (to the judge), he is not released from the prison because of a (certain)  
 section (of the judicial law).<sup>399</sup>

Moreover, in a Judeo-Persian text, the corresponding word occurs as *bzwb-št* meaning “investigation” which develops to NP. *pažuhiš* (MacKenzie 1968: 252).

As far as the suffix of the agent noun *wizōstār* is concerned, it has been interpreted as either *-tār* or *-ār*. Salemann (*GlrPh.* 282), Rastorgueva (1966: 34) and Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 179-180, §357) take the suffix as *-tār*. Moreover, as stated by Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 179-180, §357), the suffix *-tār* appears together with its variants *-dār* and *-īdār* in Pahlavi. However, to accept such an interpretation, it is needed to assume either irregular stems or suffixes. For example, the form *brēhēnīdār* “creator” is to be derived from the present stem *brēhēn-* + *ī* + *-dār* in which *ī* is left unexplained, or regarding the word *burdār* “career”, the present stem would be from the irregular zero grade *\*br̥* “to carry” while its present stem *bar-* is well attested in Pahlavi.

By contrast, Rastorgueva and Molcanova (1981a: 71-72) consider the suffix *-ār* < *-tar* attached to the past stem. Moreover, deriving *-ār* from *-tar*, Abolghassemi (1375 (1996): 316) rejects the suffix *-tār* due to the necessity of considering non-existing stems as mentioned above. Therefore, the evidence shows that the Pahlavi agent noun consists of the past stem *wizōst* + *-ār* and it is translated in the present edition as “(having the skills of) a

<sup>398</sup> Mills (1903c: 319 and 319, fn. 6) translates *hazār wizōstār* by conjecture as “thousand jointed” which is obviously a wrong translation of the Pahlavi word.

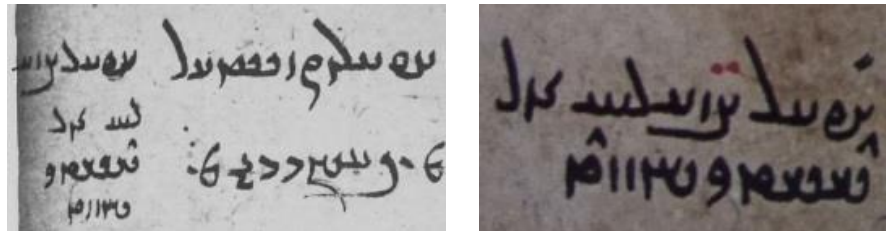
<sup>399</sup> My translation builds on Perikhanian (1980: A13. 13-15) and Macuch (1981: 142).

thousand investigators”.

In addition, the Pahlavi commentary *ī adādag pad gōhrag* “who is unjust by essence” follows *hazār wizōstār*. In the Avesta, the two opposing beings namely the dragon Dahāka and Miθra bear the epithet *hazārā.yaoxšti*.<sup>400</sup> Therefore, the Pahlavi commentary could be inserted to distinguish between the unjust essence of Dahāka and the essence of Miθra which is just.

Finally, in YIrP Pt4 and its closely related T55b, *hazār mard rāy zōr dāšt* “he had the power of thousand men” appears in their margins. According to its meaning, the Pahlavi sentence should be a gloss to *hazār wizōstār*.

Figure 30. Left: YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57v); right: YIrP T55b (fol. 72r).



The interlinear New Persian version of the Pahlavi gloss *hazār mard rāy zōr dāšt* also appears in YIrP F2 and YIrP T6:

F2 fol 54r line 13: هزار مردم برابر کوشش و قوت دارنده بود

*hazār mardōm barābar kōšiš-u quvvat dāranda būd*

as many as thousand people, he (the dragon Dahāg) had strife and power.<sup>401</sup>

T6 fol 46v line 2: برابر هزار مرد زور و توان میداشت

*barābar-ī hazār mard zōr-u tuvān mē-dāšt*

as many as thousand men, he (the dragon Dahāg) had strength and power.<sup>402</sup>

As regards the editorial judgement, the Pahlavi gloss in Pt4, T55b is omitted in the present edition because it is absent in other Iranian manuscripts, especially those of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line.<sup>403</sup> Furthermore, as discussed in section 3.1, the gloss in Pt4, T55b

<sup>400</sup> See Y 9.8, Yt 10.35, 82, 107 and Yt 19.35.

<sup>401</sup> My translation.

<sup>402</sup> My translation.

<sup>403</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

has a feature of the corrected Jāmāsp’s post-arrival manuscripts in which are added commentaries which are absent in the older copies.

**4) Line 4 Y 9.8bP** *was* *ōz* “of many powers”

The Pahlavi translation of Av. *aš.aojaṇhəm* varies among manuscripts. While Av. *aš°* is consistently rendered by *was* “many”, the second element is translated in YIndPs<sup>404</sup> and YIrP Mf4, F2 and T6 as *ōz* (*’wc’*)<sup>405</sup> in contrast to YIrP Pt4 and G14 writing *ōzōmand* (*’wc’wmnd*).<sup>406</sup> Moreover, in YIrP T55b (fol. 72v line 3), it appears as *ōzman?* which is probably the misspelling of the form *ōzōmand*.<sup>407</sup> It should be noted that in YIrP T6, *čiyōn az* (*cygwn MN*) “as from” is also added after *ōz*. Therefore, to draw an editorial judgement, it is necessary to examine how the Pahlavi translators rendered Av. *aš.aojah-* and its cognates elsewhere in the Avesta. In Y57.15, the Avestan gen. sg. *aš.aojaṇhō* occurs in the following context:

Y 57.15 *sraošaṃ ašīm huraodəm vərəθrājanəm*  
*fradaṭ.gāēθəm ... yazamaide*  
*yō vananō kائياداhe*  
*yō vananō کائيديهه*  
*yō janta daēuuaiiā drujō*  
*aš.aojaṇhō ahūm mərəcō*  
*yō harəta aiβiiāxštaca*  
*vīspaiiā frauuōiš gāēθaiiā*

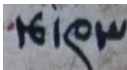
We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of form, victorious,  
 furthering the world ... ,  
 the vanquisher of the *kaiiada*-offender,  
 the vanquisher of the follower of the *kaiiada*-offender,  
 the smiter of the very strong demoness Deceit,  
 who is the destroyer of existence,  
 (Sraoša), the guardian and supervisor  
 of the promotion of all worldly creatures.<sup>408</sup>

The Pahlavi translation is as follows:

<sup>404</sup> J2 (fol. 84r line 12), K5 (fol. 62v line 17), M1 (162r line 13).

<sup>405</sup> In YIrP T6, F2, *ōz* is spelled without the final stroke. For the spellings of YIrPs see Pt4 (fol. 56v line 5), Mf4 (p. 152 line 6), G14 (fol. 44r line 11), F2 (fol. 54v line 2), T6 (fol. 46v line 5).

<sup>406</sup> In YIrP Pt4, *’wmnd* is written above the line. In YIrP G14, *d* is written above the line, probably by a second hand.

<sup>407</sup> 

<sup>408</sup> The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 44-45).

Y 57.15P *srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar ....*  
*kē wānīdār ī kastārān mardān*  
*kē wānīdār ī kastārān zanān*  
*kē zanēd dēw druz*  
*ī was ōz ī axwān murjēnīdār*  
*kē sālār ud abar nigāh dāštār*  
*ī harwispīn frāz ō gētīyān*

We (worship) the righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victorious, ...  
 the vanquisher of iniquitous men,  
 the vanquisher of iniquitous women,  
 who smites the demon Deceit  
 of great strength, the destroyer of existence,  
 (Srōš) who is the leader and supervisor  
 of all the creatures of the material world.<sup>409</sup>

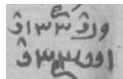
Like Y 9.8, in the Pahlavi version of Y 57.15, the translation of *aš.aojah-* varies among the manuscripts as shown in Table 1:

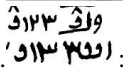
**Table 1. The Pahlavi translation of *aš.aojah-* (Y 57.15) in the Pahlavi manuscripts.**

Manuscript	Pahlavi transliteration
YIrP Pt4 (fol. 220r line 19)	<i>ws'wc'wd</i> <sup>410</sup> ( <i>KBD 'wc'wnd</i> : above the line)
YIrP Mf4 (p. 551, line 16)	<i>ws'w'wnd</i> ( <i>KBD 'wzwnd</i> : above the line) <sup>411</sup>
YIrP G14	Y 57 is absent from G14.
YIrP F2	Y 57 is absent from F2.
YIrP T6 (fol. 241v line 3)	<i>KBD 'w'wc</i>
YIrP T55b	Y 57 is absent from T55b.
YIndP J2 (fol. 311r line 5)	<i>ws'w'c'</i>
YIndP K5 (fol. 259r line 7)	<i>ws'wc'</i>
YIndP M1 (fol. 613r line 3)	<i>ws'wc'</i>

According to the table, while in YIndPs and YIrP T6, *aš.aojah-* is rendered by *was ōz* “of many powers”, in YIrP Pt4 and Mf4, it is translated by *was ōzāwand* “very powerful”. By contrast, the superlative form of *aš.aojah-*, or Av. *aš.aojastama-*, is translated in the Avesta by *was* (*wēš?* “more”: F2) *ōz* to which the superlative suffix *tom* is attached (Table

<sup>409</sup> The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 44-45).

<sup>410</sup>  : The Pahlavi letter *n* is missing after *ws'wc'w* and before *d*.

<sup>411</sup>  : In *ws'w'wnd* (*was ōzāwand*), the Pahlavi letter *c* is missing after *ws'w* and before *'wnd*. As regards the superscript word, the reading *z* is hypothetical and the long *ā* is missing.

2).<sup>412</sup> Likewise, the comparative Av. *aš.aojastara-* is rendered by Phl. *was ōz* to which the Pahlavi comparative suffix *tar* is attached (Table 3).

As regards Av. *aojah-* adj. “powerful”, it occurs in Y 34.8 and Y 57.10. In all of the collated manuscripts, it is translated by Phl. *ōzōmand* (lit). “possessing power”, “powerful” (Table 4). The adjective OAv. *aojōṇhuuant-/YAv. aojaṇ<sup>h</sup>haṇt-* “possessing power, powerful” is formed with the suffix *-uuant-*, attached to *aojah-* in Y 28.6, Y 31.4, Y 34.4, Y 43.8, Y 43.16, Y 57.11 and Vd 20.8. It is translated as Phl. *ōzōmand* with the exception of Vd 20.8 in which the Avestan adjective is rendered by the Pahlavi noun *ōz* “power, strength” (Table 5). Furthermore, in Y 9.15, Y 29.3, Y 57.13, Vd 3.20 and Vd 17.1 occurs the superlative *aojišta-* adj. “the most powerful” which is rendered by *ōzōmand*, the comparative *ōzōmandtar* and the superlative *ōzōmandtom/ōzōmandihātom* in Pahlavi (Table 6).<sup>413</sup> As a comparative adjective, Av. *aojiiah-* “stronger” is attested in Y 34.8 which is translated as *ōzōmand* in Pahlavi (Table 7).<sup>414</sup> By contrast, the neuter noun Av. *aojah-* is consistently translated by *ōz* (Table 8).<sup>415</sup>

In conclusion, the Avestan adj. *aojah-* and its comparative, superlative and possessive counterparts, with one exception in Vd 20.8, are rendered in the manuscripts by Phl. *ōzōmand*, to which the comparative or superlative suffixes can attach. By contrast, the neuter noun *aojah-* is always translated in Pahlavi by *ōz*. It shows that Pahlavi translators distinguished between Av. *aojah-* adj. and its neuter counterpart.

Regarding *aš.aojah-* adj., its superlative and comparative adjectives are consistently translated by *was ōztom* and *was ōztar* in the manuscripts. By contrast, YIrPs show confusion by giving different translations of *aš.aojah-* as mentioned above. Considering the fact that these different translations appear in the Iranian manuscripts, written down after the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp in India, they can be associated with corrections introduced by their scribes.<sup>416</sup> It is corroborated by the fact that while T6 writes *was ōz*, the copyists of Pt4 and Mf4 emphasised on the correctness of their Pahlavi translation of *aš.aojah-*, or *was ōzāwand*, in Y 57.15 by re-writing it above the line with different spellings (see Table 1).<sup>417</sup> Moreover, as shown above, in Y 9.8, *’wmnd* in *ws ’wc’wmnd* is written above the line in

<sup>412</sup> In addition to *aš.aojastama-*, Av. *aš.aojišta-* is present in FrW 8.2 which has no Pahlavi translation.

<sup>413</sup> Av. *aojišta-* adj. also occurs in Yt 8.55; 10.98, 141; 13.75; 19.38 which have no Pahlavi translation.

<sup>414</sup> Av. *aojiiah-* adj. also occurs in Yt 13.17, 64 which have no Pahlavi translation.

<sup>415</sup> Av. *aojah-* ntr. also occurs in Yt 2.12, 14; 10.23, 62; 8.24; 13.1, 134; 19.68 which have no Pahlavi translation. It also takes place in Yt 1.22 whose Pahlavi manuscript is not at my disposal.

<sup>416</sup> See section 3.1.

<sup>417</sup> In T6, the repetition of *ō* in *was ōōz* (KBD *’w’wc*) is probably a scribal unintentional mistake. Y 57.15 is absent from G14 and F2.

YIrP Pt4. Mf4, F2 and T6 also attest *was ōz* like the old YIndP J2 and K5 in which *aš.aojah-* is consistently translated by *was ōz* in Y 9.8 and Y 57.15. The originality of the reading *was ōz* is also corroborated by the similar form, associated with Dahāg, occurring in the Dēnkard:

DkM. 803.3-6. *ka dahāg az band harzag bawēd ud pad murnjēnīdan ī gēhān abar dwārēd ... ōy hangēzīhēd ud pad wānīdan ī ōy ān ī was ōz druz gēhān frayādīdan*

When Dahāg is released from the fetters and runs to destroy the world...he (Kirsāsp) is awakened and (his awakening is) for destroying him (Dahāg), the demon with many powers (and) for helping the creation of the world.<sup>418</sup>

Likewise, in PRDd 48.7, the form *was ōz* is attested:

PRDd 48.7 *pas hušēdar gōwēd kū pad ān ī tēztom ud pahntom tēx ud druz ī was ōz čārag xwāhēd ud pas mardōmān ān druz pad aštar ud kārd ud warz ud šafšēr ud nēzag ud tigr ud abārīg snēhīhā ān druz bē ōzanēnd*<sup>419</sup>

Then, Hushēdar will say: ‘With the sharpest and broadest blades find a means (to destroy) that demon of great strength’. And then men will slay that demon, with whip and dagger and mace and sword and lance and arrow and other weapons.<sup>420</sup>

In conclusion, according to the evidence, *was ōz* is employed in the present edition. Phl. *was ōz* also shows that Av. *aš.aojah-* adj. was interpreted as a noun in Pahlavi.<sup>421</sup> Therefore, in contrast to Mills (1903c: 319), Davar (1904: 18, 36) and Josephson (1997: 19) translating *was ōz* as “very powerful”, it is translated as “of many powers” in the present edition.<sup>422</sup>

**Table 2. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan superlative adj. *aš.aojastāma-*.**

Stanza/Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript /Pahlavi transliteration
Y 9.8 acc. sg. <i>aš.aojastāmqm</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 56v line 9): <i>KBD</i> 'wctwm YIrP Mf4 (page 152 line 10): <i>KBD</i> 'wctwm YIrP G14 (fol. 55r-55v line 114): <i>KBD</i> 'wctwm YIrP F2 (fol. 54v line 5): <i>wš</i> 'wctwm YIrP T6 (fol. 46v line 9): <i>KBD</i> 'wctwm YIrP T55b (fol. 72v line 9): <i>KBD</i> 'wctwm YIndP J2 (fol. 84v line 2): <i>KBD</i> 'wctwm

<sup>418</sup> My translation.

<sup>419</sup> Edition by Williams (1990: Vol I, 175).

<sup>420</sup> Translation by Williams (1990: Vol II, 80).

<sup>421</sup> For *ōz* see MacKenzie (1971: 62) and Nyberg (1974: 147).

<sup>422</sup> All scholars read the Pahlavi word as *was ōz*. Putting “ful” in the brackets, Davar (1904: 36) translates *ōz* as the adjective “power(ful)” cautiously.



	YIndP K5 (fol. 63r line 4): <i>KBD</i> 'wctwm YIndP M1 (fol. 84v line 2): <i>KBD</i> 'wctwm
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**Table 3. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan comparative adj. *aojastara-*.**

Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript /Pahlavi transliteration
Vd 9.48 nom. sg. <i>aš.aojastara</i>	VdP L4 (fol. 174r line 3): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP K1 (fol. 124v line 15): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP MI3 (fol. 204r line 3-4): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl Vd 9 is absent from VdP G25. VdP F10 (fol. 188v line 4): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP G28 (fol. 170v line 14): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP T44 (fol. 212r line 6): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP G34 (fol. 190r line 6): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP B1 (fol. 273v line 11): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl Vd 9 is absent from VdP Bh11. VdP E10 (fol. 100v line 18): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl VdP M3 (fol. 190v line 18): <i>KBD</i> 'wctl

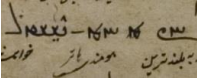
**Table 4. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan adj. *aojah-*.**

Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript/Pahlavi transliteration
Y 34.8: nom. sg. <i>aojā</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 156v line 6): 'wc'wmnd YIrP Mf4 (page 402 line 2): 'wc'wmnd YIrP G14 does not have Y 34. YIrP F2 (fol. 149v line 11): 'wc'wmnd YIrP T6 (fol. 153v line 8): 'wc'wmnd Y 34.8 is absent from YIrP T55b. YIndP J2: Illegible because fol. 216r is damaged. YIndP K5 (fol. 172v line 13): 'wc'wmnd YIndP M1 (fol. 420r line 10): 'wc'wmnd
Y 57.10: nom. sg. <i>aojā</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 219r line 14): 'wc'wmnd YIrP Mf4 (page 549 line 8): 'wc'wmnd Y 57 is absent from YIrP G14. Y 57 is absent from YIrP F2. YIrP T6 (fol. 240r line 8): 'wcmnd Y 57 is absent from YIrP T55b. YIndP J2 (fol. 309r line 14): 'wc'wmnd YIndP K5 (fol. 257r line 14): 'wc'wmnd YIndP M1 (fol. 609r line 13): 'wc'wmnd

**Table 5. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the adj. OAv. *aojōṇhuuaṇt-/YAv. *aojaṇ'hant-*.***

Stanza/Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript/Pahlavi transliteration
Y 28.6 acc. sg. <i>aojōṇhuuaṇt</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 131r line 10): 'wc'wmnd YIrP Mf4 (page 340 line 1): 'wc'wmnd

	<p>Y 28 is absent from YIrP G14.  YIrP F2 (fol. 120r line 10): 'wcmnd  YIrP T6 (fol. 117r line 8): 'wc 'wmnnd  YIrP T55b does not have Y 28.  YIndP J2 (fol. 175r line 15): 'wc 'wmnd  YIndP K5 (fol. 173r line 5): 'wc 'wmnd  YIndP M1 (fol. 342v line 2): 'wc 'wmnd</p>
Y 31.4 acc. sg. <i>aojōḡhūuāt</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 140v line 20): 'wc 'wmnnd  YIrP Mf4 (page 363 line 9) 'wc 'wmnd  Y 31 is absent from YIrP G14.  YIrP F2 (fol. 132r line 3): 'wcmnd  YIrP T6 (fol. 137v line 2): 'wc 'wmnd  Y 31 is absent from YIrP T55b.  YIndP J2: Illegible because fol. is damaged.  YIndP K5 (fol. 150v line 3): 'wc 'wmnd  YIndP M1 (fol. 371v line 2): 'wc 'wmnd</p>
Y 34.4 acc. sg. <i>aojōḡhūuāntām</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 155r line 17): 'wc 'wmnnd  YIrP Mf4 (page 398 line 14): 'wc 'wmnd  Y 34 is absent from YIrP G14.  YIrP F2 abbreviates the stanza.  YIrP T6 (fol. 151v line 10): 'wc 'wmnd  Y 34 is absent from YIrP T55b.  YInd J2 (fol. 214r line 1): 'wc 'wmnd  YInd K5 (fol. 171r line 2) 'wc 'wmnd  YInd M1 (fol. 416r line 10): 'wc 'wmnd</p>
Y 43.8 nom. sg. <i>aojōḡhūuāt</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 170v line 16): 'wc 'wmnd  YIrP Mf4 (page 436 line 10) 'wc 'wmnnd  Y 43 is absent from YIrP G14.  YIrP F2 (fol. 165v line 6): 'wc 'wmnd  YIrP T6 (fol. 173r line 7): 'w' 'wcmnd  Y 43 is absent from YIrP T55b.  YInd J2 (fol. 238r line 6): 'wc 'wmnd  YInd K5 (fol. 193r line 5): 'wc 'wmnd  YInd M1 (fol. 463v line 13): 'wc 'wmnd</p>
Y 43.16 nom. sg. <i>aojōḡhūuāt</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 173r line 15): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl  YIrP Mf4 (page 442 line 13): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl  Y 43.16 is absent from YIrP G14.  YIrP F2 (fol. 168v line 4): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl  YIrP T6: (fol. 176v line 11) 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl<sup>423</sup>  Y 43 is absent from YIrP T55b.  YIndP J2 (fol. 241v line 14): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl  YIndP K5 (fol. 196r line 15): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl  YIndP M1 (fol. 471v line 8): 'wc 'wmndyh 'tl</p>
Y 57.11 acc. sg. <i>aojaḡh'haṇtām</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 219v line 2): 'wc 'wmnd  YIrP Mf4 (page 549 line 14): 'wc 'wmnd  Y 57 is absent from YIrP G14.</p>

<sup>423</sup> ۴ is written between 'wc and 'wmndyh 'tl. However, while 'wc and 'wmndyh 'tl are translated in the interlinear New Persian version, ۴ is left untranslated: 

	<p>Y 57 is absent from YIrP F2.  YIrP T6 (fol. 240r line 12): 'wc'wmnnd  Y 57 is absent from YIrP T55b.  YIndP J2 (fol. 309v line 8): 'wc'wmnnd  YIndP K5 (fol. 257v line 9): 'wlc'wmnnd  YIndP M1 (fol. 610r line 4): 'wlc'wmnnd</p>
Vd 20.8 acc. sg. <i>aojaŋ<sup>v</sup>hat</i>	<p>VdP L4 (fol. 284r line 15): 'wc  VdP K1 (fol. 236v line 14): 'wc  VdP MI3 (fol. 314r line 3): 'wc  VdP G25 (fol. 132r line 9): 'wc  VdP F10 (fol. 297v line 8-9): 'wc  VdP G28 (fol. 267v line 11): 'wc  VdP T44 (fol. 324v line 9): 'wc  VdP G34 (fol. 290v line 5): 'wc  VdP B1 (fol. 415v line 13): 'wc  VdP Bh11 (fol. 264r line 4): 'wc  VdP E10 (fol. 161r line 11): 'wc  VdP M3 (fol. 281r line 10): 'wc</p>

**Table 6. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan superlative adj. *aojišta-*.**

Stanza/Avestan word	Siglum of manuscript/Pahlavi transliteration
Y 9.15 nom. sg. <i>aojištō</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 59r line 7): 'wc'wmnnd  YIrP Mf4 (page 158 line 12): 'wc'wmnnd  YIrP G14 (fol. 58r line 9): 'wc'wmnnd  YIrP F2 (fol. 57v line 5): 'wc'wmnnd  YIrP T6 (fol. 50r line 2): 'wc'wmnnd  YIrP T55b (fol. 77r line 3): 'wc'wmnnd  YIndP J2 (fol. 88r line 3): 'wc'wmnnd  YIndP K5 (fol. 65v line 6): 'wc'wmnnd<sup>424</sup>  YIndP M1 (fol. 169r line 12): 'wc'wmnnd</p>
Y 29.3 nom. sg. <i>aojištō</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 133v line 20): 'wc'wmnndtl  YIrP Mf4 (page 346 line 15): 'wc'wmnndtl  YIrP G14 does not have Y 29.  YIrP F2 (fol. 123v line 7): 'wcmndtl  YIrP T6 (fol. 121r line 2): 'wc'wmnndt'l  YIrP T55b does not have Y 29.  YIndP J2 (fol. 179v line 11): 'wc'wmndtl  YIndP K5 (fol. 141r line 1): 'wc'wmndtl  YIndP M1 (fol. 350v line 13): 'wc'wmndt</p>
Y 57.13 acc. sg. <i>aojištəm</i>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 219v line 15): 'wc'wmndtwm  YIrP Mf4 (page 550 line 9): 'wc'wmndtwm  YIrP G14 does not have Y 57.  YIrP F2 does not have Y 57.  YIrP T6 (fol. 240v line 9): 'wc'wmndt<sup>425</sup>  YIrP T55b does not have Y 57.</p>

<sup>424</sup> The second 'w is written above the line.

<sup>425</sup> The final stroke can also be read as *r*, forming with the preceding *t*, the comparative suffix *tar*. However, the suffix, *tar* is usually spelled as *tl* in manuscripts.

	<p>YIndP J2 does not have Y 31.  YIndP J2: Illegible because fol. is damaged.  YIndP K5 (fol. 258r line 8): 'wc'wmndtwm  YIndP M1(fol. 611r line 5): 'wc'wmndtwm  YIndP F10 (fol. 39r line 15): 'wcmndtwm</p>
Vd 3.20 acc. sg. <i>aojištəmca</i>	<p>VdP L4 (fol. 37r line 10): 'wc'wmndtwm  VdP K1 does not have Y 3.  VdP MI3 (fol. 39r line 17): 'wc'wmndtwm  VdP G25 does not have Vd 3.  VdP F10 (fol. 39r line 15): 'wcmndtwm  VdP G28 (fol. 32v line 3): 'wc'wmndtwm  VdP T44 (fol. 42r line 3): 'wc'wmntwm  VdP G34 (fol. 42r line 6): 'wc'wmndtwm  VdP B1(fol. 50v line 9): 'wc'wmndtwm  VdP Bh11 (fol. 62v line 2-3): 'wc'wmndtwm  VdP E10 (fol. 19v line 3): 'wc'wc'wmndtwm  VdP M3 (fol. 42v line 1): 'wc'wmndtwm</p>
Vd 17.1 inst. sg. <i>aojišta</i>	<p>VdP L4 (fol. 237v line 12): 'wcmndyh'twm  VdP K1 (fol. 190r line 16): 'wcmndyh'twwm  VdP MI3 (fol. 269v line 11): 'wcmndyh'twm  VdP G25 (fol. 74v line 12): 'wcmndyh'twm  VdP F10 (fol. 249r line 6): 'wcmndyh'twm<sup>426</sup>  VdP G28 (fol. 230r line 6-7):  'wc'wmndyh'twm  VdP T44 (fol. 277r line 1): 'wc'wmndyh'twm  VdP G34 (fol. 250r line 9): 'wcmndyh'twm  VdP B1 (fol. 352r line 7-8): 'wcmndyh'twm  VdP Bh11 does not have Vd 17.  VdP E10 (fol. 130v line 17):  'wc'wmndyh'twm  VdP M3 (fol. 244r line 20): 'wcmndyh'twm</p>

**Table 7. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan comparative adj. *aojiiah-*.**

<b>Stanza/Avestan word</b>	<b>Siglum of manuscript/Pahlavi transliteration</b>
Y 34.8 nom. sg <i>aojiia</i> <sup>o</sup>	<p>YIrP Pt4 (fol. 156v line 6): 'wc'wmnnnd  YIrP Mf4 (page 402 line 2): 'wc'wmnd  Y 34 is absent from YIrP G14.  YIrP F2 (fol. 149v line 11): 'wc'wmnnnd  YIrP T6 (fol. 153v line 8): 'wc'wmnd  YIrP T55b does not have Y 34.  YIndP J2: Illegible because fol. is damaged.  YInd K5 (fol. 172v line 13): 'wc'wmnd  YInd M1 (fol. 420r line 10): 'wc'wmnd</p>

<sup>426</sup> Another 'w is written above the line with pale letters after c.

**Table 8. The manuscript readings of the Pahlavi translation of the Avestan *aojah-* ntr.**

<b>Stanza/Avestan word</b>	<b>Siglum of manuscript/Pahlavi transliteration</b>
Y 9.17 acc. sg. <i>aojō</i>	YIrP Pt4: (fol. 59v line 15): 'wc' YIrP Mf4 (page 160 line 6): 'wc' YIrP G14 (fol. 59r line 2): 'wc' YIrP F2 (fol. 58r line 12): 'wc' YIrP T6 (fol. 50v line 13): 'wc' YIrP (fol. 78r line 7): 'wc' YIndP J2 (fol. 89r line 1): 'wc' YIrP K5 (fol. 66r line 12): 'wc' YIrP M1 (fol. 171r line 7): 'wc'
Y 9. 22 acc. pl. <i>aojāsca</i>	YIrP G14 'wc' (fol. 61r line 7): 'wc' (w and c separated from each other) YIrP Mf4 (page 163 line 13): 'wc' YIrP G14 (fol. 60v line 3): 'wc' YIrP F2 (fol. 59v line 15): 'wc' YIrP T6 (fol. 52v line 11): 'wc' YIrP T55b (fol. 80v line 4): 'wc' YIndP J2 (fol. 91r line 3): 'wc' YIndP K5 (fol. 67v line 11): 'wc' YIndP M1 (fol. 175v line 1): 'wc'
Y 9.25 inst. sg. <i>aojaṇha</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 61v line 18): 'wc' YIrP Mf4 (page 165 line 10): 'wc' YIrP G14 (fol. 61v line 1): 'wc' YIrP F2 (fol. 60v line 12): 'wc' YIrP T6 (fol. 53v line 12): 'wc' YIrP T55b (fol. 82r line 1): 'wc' YIndP J2 (fol. 92r line 9): 'wc' YIndP K5 (fol. 68v line 6): 'wc' YIndP M1 (fol. 177v) omits the word
Y 10.2 inst. sg. <i>aojaṇha</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 64v line 21): 'wc' YIrP Mf4 (page 173 line 1): 'wc' YIrP G14 does not have Y 10 YIrP F2 (fol. 64r line 12): 'wc' YIrP T6 (fol. 58r line 7): 'wc' YIrP T55b (fol. 87r line 15): 'w'c' YIndP J2 (fol. 96v line 5): 'wc' YIndP K5: illegible because fol. is damaged. YIndP M1: (fol. 186v line 1): 'wc'
Y 50.3 inst. sg. <i>aojaṇhā</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 198v line 18): 'wc' YIrP Mf4 (page 501 line 9): 'wc' YIrP G14 does not have Y 50. YIrP F2 (fol. 197r line 8): 'wc' YIrP T6 (fol. 211r line 3): 'wc' YIrP T55b does not have Y 50. YIndP J2 (fol. 280r line 10): 'wc' YIndP K5 (fol. 230v line 9): 'wc' YIndP M1 (fol. 550v line 9): 'wc'
Y 60.3 nom. sg. <i>aojō</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 236c line 1): 'wc'

	YIrP Mf4 (page 589 11): 'wc' YIrP G14 does not have Y 60. YIrP F2 (fol. 225r): Abbreviating Y 60.3, <i>aojō</i> is not attested. YIrP T6 (fol. 254v line 10): 'wc' YIrP T55b does not have Y 60. YIndP J2 (fol. 328r line 9): 'wc' YIndP K5 (fol. 275v line 2): 'wc' YIndP M1 (fol. 646r line 9): 'wc'
Y 71.8 acc. sg. <i>aojasca</i>	YIrP Pt4 (fol. 275v line 18): 'w'c YIrP Mf4 (page 697 line 17): 'w'c YIrP G14 does not have Y 71. YIrP F2 (fol. 256v line 2): 'wc YIrP T6 (fol. 288r line 10): 'wc YIrP T55b does not have Y 71. YIndP J2 (fol. 371v line 15): 'wc' YIrP K5 (fol. 316r line 6): 'wc' YIrP M1 (fol. 739r line 7): 'wc'
Y 72.6 acc. sg. <i>aojasca</i>	Y 726.6 is omitted in the YP.

### 5) Line 4 Y 9.8bP *dēw druz* “Demon(ess) Deceit”

In Y 9.8, Av. *ažīm dahākəm* is followed by a series of adjectives modifying the dragon:

*θri.zaʃanəm θri.kamərəδəm*  
*xšuuas.āšīm hazaŋrā.yaoxštīm*  
*aš.aojaŋhəm daēuuīm drujəm*  
*aγəm ... druuaŋtəm*

the three-muzzled, three-headed,  
 six-eyed, having a thousand skills,  
 the very powerful, the Demoness Deceit,  
 wicked ... deceitful

However, the occurrence of the feminine *daēuuīm drujəm* between the adjectives in the accusative case, describing the features of the male dragon Dahāka, is problematic. It is also debated whether *daēuuī-* should be interpreted as a noun or an adjective. Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 670) suggests that *daēuuī-* is the feminine counterpart of the adj. *daēuua-* “demonic”. However, Hoffmann (1975: 201), refutes Bartholomae’s suggestion of the existence of the masculine and feminine adjectival forms, arguing that *daēuuī-* is the feminine counterpart of the masculine noun *daēuua-* “demon”.

In scholarly translations, *daēuuīm drujəm* is usually translated literally as for example “devilish Falsehood” (Hintze 1994: 22) and “evil Lie” (Josephson 1997: 49). Kellens (1999: 459, fn. 4) deals with the difficulties mentioned above by leaving the problematic expression

untranslated. To make the stanza comprehensible, Pirart (2004: 66-67) adds “*ḡrāitana qui frappa*”<sup>427</sup> in brackets, before *daēuuīm drujəm* and *aγəm ... druuaṇtəm*.

As regards the Pahlavi version, the Avestan commentary *kō ḡβqm yim ahurəm mazdqm* is incorporated to explain the demon(ess)<sup>428</sup> Deceit:

*ī was ōz dēw druz*  
*ī wattar ō gēhān [zyān kār] ī druwand*  
*kē-š was ōztom druz*  
*frāz kīrrēnīd gannāg mēnōy*  
*abar ō astōmandān gēhān*  
*pad margīh ī ān ahlāyīh ī gēhān*  
*[kū-š az druz ī gētīy ēk ān stahmagtar dād*  
*kō ḡβqm yim ahurəm mazdqm ...*

(Who slew the dragon Dahāg) of many powers Demon(ess) Deceit,  
 worse for the material world [doer of harm], deceitful  
 whom as the most powerful Deceit,  
 the Evil Spirit mis-created  
 against the material world,  
 for the destruction of the righteousness of the world  
 [which he, among the deceit of the world, created that one the more oppressive  
*Who (grieves) you, who are Ahura Mazdā? ...*

The corrupt commentary which lacks the verb is borrowed from Vd 18.61:

Vd 18.61 *kō ḡβqm yim ahurəm mazdqm mazištaiiantī inaoiti*  
 Who grieves you, Ahurā Mazdā, with the biggest insult?<sup>429</sup>

The answer to the question of Vd 18.61 appears in Vd 18.62 according to which Jahī grieves Ahura Mazdā:

Vd. 18.62 *āaṭ mraoṭ ahurō mazdā*  
*jahi bā ašāum zaraḡuštra*  
*yō xšudrā hqm.raēḡβiieiti*  
*dahmanqm adahmanqmca*  
*daēuuaiiasnanqm adaēuuaiiasnanqmca*  
*tanupərəḡanqm atanupərəḡanqmca*

Thereupon, answered Ahura Mazdā:  
 Jahī indeed O righteous Zaraḡuštra,

<sup>427</sup> “Ḡraētaona who slew”. Pirart in his French translation of the Hōm Yašt gives the reconstructed proto-Iranian forms of the corresponding Avestan proper nouns.

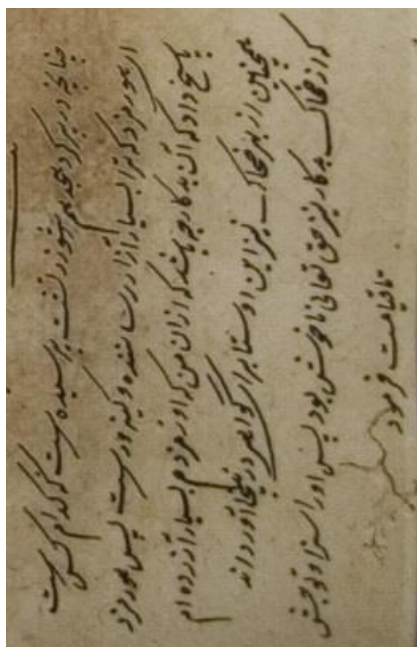
<sup>428</sup> Since the Pahlavi language does not distinguish the feminine, masculine and neuter genders, *dēw*, rendering Av. *daēuuī-* “demoness” is translated as “demon” in the present edition.

<sup>429</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 120).

who mixes, the seeds  
of the faithful and unfaithful,  
(the seeds) of the demon-worshippers and non demon-worshippers,  
(the seeds) of Tanupərəθa offenders and non-Tanupərəθa offenders.<sup>430</sup>

It should be noted that in the Avesta, *Jahī* is used to denote woman as a neutral term or woman in pejorative sense. In the Pahlavi literature, its corresponding *Jeh* can also mean woman. However, in some Pahlavi texts such as the *Bundahišn*, *Jeh* is the name of a demoness. In Vd. 18.61-63, *Jahī* means “adulterous woman”.<sup>431</sup> However, it seems that in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.8, *Jahī* refers to the female demon. The reason is that Av. *aš.aojanḥam daēuuīm drujəm* is rendered by Phl. *was ōz dēw druz* rather than the expected *was ōzōmand/ōzāwand dēw druz*.<sup>432</sup> In contrast to the adjective *ōzōmand* meaning “powerful”, the Pahlavi noun *ōz* means “power”. Therefore, it suggests that *ōz* and its following *dēw druz* have been interpreted as nouns rather than adjectives describing the dragon *Dahāg*. Furthermore, in the margin of YIrP T6 (fol. 46v), there is a New Persian commentary according to which *Jeh* is described as an evil being alongside *Zahhāk* (= Phl. *Az Dahāg*):

Figure 31. YIrP T6 (fol. 46v).



T6 fol. 64v line 1) *čīnānča dar pargard-ī hijdahom ašō zartušt pursīda ast ka kadām*

<sup>430</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 120).

<sup>431</sup> For *Jeh* see de Jong (2008: 618-619).

<sup>432</sup> For *dēw druz* see Y 9.8 commentary 4 *dēw druz*.



*kas ast*

2) *ay hormazd ka tō-rā bisyār āzār rasānanda-u kēnavar ast pas hormazd*

3) *pāsōx dād ka ān bad kār jeh bāšad ka az ān man kē hormazd-am bisyār āzurda-‘am*

4) *hamčīnīn az bahr-ī zāhhāk ...*

1) As in chapter eighteen, the righteous Zartušt has asked that who is he,

2) O Hormazd (= Phl. Ohrmazd), who grieves you so much and is malevolent. Then, Hormazd

3-4) answered that, she is the evil-doer Jeh that from her, I, who am Hormazd, have suffered so much, likewise from Zāhhāk ...<sup>433</sup>

Therefore, in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.8, three evil beings can be identified, namely Az ī Dahāg “the dragon Dahāg, the female demon(ess) Deceit who is identified with Jeh and Gannāg Mēnōy, a term which is the designation of Ahriman. In what follows, based on the dualistic nature of Zoroastrianism, their features are compared with those of Auramazdā,<sup>434</sup> Mitra and Anāhitā,<sup>435</sup> attested in the three Old Persian inscriptions of Artaxerxes II (404-358 BC). For example:

ASd. AM<sup>436</sup> *anahita utā mitra mām pātuv hacā gastā utamaiy kartam*

May Auramazdā, Anāhitā and Mitra protect me from all evil, and my Building.<sup>437</sup>

As far as the opposition between Ahura Mazdā and Anra Mañiiu is concerned, according to the Old Avestan text of Y 45.2, while Ahura Mazdā does not have an evil counterpart, Anra Mañiiu “Evil Spirit” stands against the Spaniih Mañiiu “More Life-giving Spirit”, as their deeds, minds, words and choices oppose each other.<sup>438</sup> These two entities are also regarded as twins, or Av. *yōma-*, in Y 30.3.<sup>439</sup> This idea is retained in the Young Avestan texts according to which, the two spirits stand against each other, for example:

Y 57.17 *yō nōiṭ pascaēta hušx’afa*

*yaṭ mañiiū dāmṇ daiḍitəm*

*yasca spəntō mañiiuš yasca anrō*

*hišārō ašahe gaēṇā*

*yō vīspāiš aiiṇca xšafnasca yūidiēiti māzaniiaēibiiō haḍa daēuuaēibiiō*

<sup>433</sup> My translation.

<sup>434</sup> Av. *ahura- mazdā-* appears as the unverbated *auramazdā-* in Old Persian.

<sup>435</sup> Av. *arəduui- sūrā- anāhitā-* appears as *anāhitā-* in Old Persian. For declensions see Kent (1953: 167).

<sup>436</sup> AM stands for Auramazdā when written in Old Persian with an ideogram. For Old Persian characters and ideograms see Kent (1953: 11-12).

<sup>437</sup> Kent (1953: 154-155).

<sup>438</sup> For English translations of Y 45.2 see Insler (1975: 74-75); Humbach (1991: I, 164).

<sup>439</sup> For English translations of Y 30.3 see Insler (1975: 32-33); Humbach (1991: I, 123).

Who has not slept, then,  
 (since) the two spirits created the creations,  
 Life-giving Spirit and the Evil one.  
 Watching over the creature of the Truth  
 who, days and nights, battles with all monstrous demons.<sup>440</sup>

However, in the Young Avesta, there are examples according to which Anra Mañiiu stands against Ahura Mazdā:

Yt. 1.0. *xšnaoθra ahurahe mazdā tarōiditi anrahe mañiiūš*

With the (hope) of gratification for Ahura Mazdā, with the (wish) of overcoming Angra Mañiiu.<sup>441</sup>

In the first chapter of the Vīdēvdād, the first sixteen lands created by Ahura Mazdā are also inflicted by the counter creation of Anra Mañiiu (Moazami 2014: 9-10). Furthermore, according to Aristotle's testimony, appearing in Diogenes Laertius, 1.2.6, Oromazdes stands against Ariemaios (Duchesne-Guillemain: 1984: 672). Finally, in the Pahlavi literature, the antagonism between Ohrmazd and Ahriman is well attested. For example

IrBd 5.0-1 *abar hamēstārīh ī dōwān mēnōyān kū čē ēwēn mad hēnd pad  
 hamēstārīh kamālīgān dēwān ō mēnōyān yazdān čiyōn ahriman ō  
 ohrmazd ...*

On the opposition of the two spirits, that is in what manner, the chief Dēws came for antagonism against the spiritual Yazds. Just as: Ahriman against Ohrmazd ...<sup>442</sup>

Therefore, Zoroastrian literature, especially the Pahlavi and some Young Avestan texts, shows a dualism according to which Ahura Mazdā (Phl. Ohrmazd) is the antagonist of Anra Mañiiu (Phl. Ahriman).

The antagonism of the Av. Miθra (= Phl. Mihr) and the dragon Dahāka becomes clear on the one hand by examining the relationship between Ōraētaona (= Phl. Frēdōn) and Miθra and on the other hand by considering Ōraētaona as the slayer of the dragon Dahāka. It has been shown by Spiegel (1887: 262-267) and Benveniste (1934: 195-196) that Trita is Ōraētaona's counterpart in the Vedic literature, the oldest collection of the Sanskrit texts. Similar to the story of Ōraētaona-dragon Dahāka, in the Rig-veda, the three-headed, seven-

<sup>440</sup> The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 44, 45).

<sup>441</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: II, 60).

<sup>442</sup> The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 54-55).

bridled Viśvarūpa is submitted to Trita by Indra to be slain:

RV 2. 11. 19. *sánema yé ta ūtibhis táranto viśvā spr̥dha áryeṇa dásyūn  
asmábhyaṃ tát tvāṣṭráṃ viśvarūpam árandhayaḥ sākhiyása tritāya*<sup>443</sup>

We would win! We who by your help are overcoming all rivals, the Dasyus along with the Arya.

That was for us that you made Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭar, submit to Trita, one of your cycle companions.<sup>444</sup>

RV 10. 8. 8. *sá pítiryāṇy áyudhāni vidván índreṣita āptiyó abhy àyudhat  
triśīrṣāṇaṃ saptáraśmīm jaghanván tvāṣṭrásyā cin níḥ sasrje tritó gāḥ*<sup>445</sup>

That one, Aptya, knowing his ancestral weapons, urged on by Indra, attacked. Having smashed the three headed, seven reined (monster), Trita let loose the cows, even those of Tvaṣṭar's son.<sup>446</sup>

Although Indra is demonised in the Avesta, some of his warrior characteristics are similar to those of Miθra in the Iranian tradition (Malandra 2006a: 104). As mentioned, Indra accompanies Trita, therefore, it is plausible to suggest that Ōraētaona is also associated with Miθra in the Avesta. It emerges from the Yt 19.34-37 where Miθra and Ōraētaona successively seize the Glory each time it left Yima.<sup>447</sup> A further feature which both Ōraētaona (= Phl. Frēdōn) and Miθra (= Phl. Mihr) share is their close association with cattle. Thus, according to the Pahlavi texts, cattle was the totem of Frēdōn's clan (IrBd 35.8) or in the Šāhnāma (ed. Bertels, vol. I, 57, vv 112), Frēdōn is nourished by the milk of the cow Barmāya. Moreover, according to the Arabic text of Āṣār al-Bāqiya 'n al-Qorun al-Xāliya, Frēdōn decided to punish the dragon *ṣaḥḥāk* (the Arabic form of Az ī Dahāg) for an ox, kept in his father's house:

AB 209, line 11-17. "On the 21<sup>st</sup> or Rām Rōz, is the Great Mihrajān<sup>448</sup> in commemoration of Frēdōn's subduing and binding *Ṣaḥḥāk*. People say that when he was brought before Frēdōn he spoke: 'Do not kill me in retaliation for thy ancestor'. Upon which Frēdōn answered, refusing his entreaty, 'Do you want to be considered as equal as to Jam son of Wijahān<sup>449</sup> in the way of retaliation? By no means. I shall punish you for an ox that was in the house of my ancestor'.<sup>450</sup>

<sup>443</sup> Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 119).

<sup>444</sup> Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 415).

<sup>445</sup> Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 481).

<sup>446</sup> Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 1379).

<sup>447</sup> For the Avestan text and its English translation see Hintze (1994b: 21-22).

<sup>448</sup> The Arabicised Mihrajān (= NP. Mihragān) is the name of a celebration to honour Miθra.

<sup>449</sup> It corresponds to Pahlavi Wiwangan.

<sup>450</sup> Translation by Sachau (1879: 209).

In the Mihr Yašt, Miθra carries the epithet *vouru.gaoiiaoiti*- “having, or providing, wide cattle-pastures”.<sup>451</sup> He is also described as a protector of cattle. For example, he destroys the houses of those who abuse them:

Yt 10.38 *xrūmā šaitaiiō fraziṇte*  
*anašitā maēθaniiā*  
*yāhuua miθrō.drujō šiiete*  
*haiθīm.ašauua.janasca druuantō*  
*xrūmīm gāuš yā caṇraṇhāxš*  
*varaiθīm pantqm azaite*  
*yā darənāhu miθrō.drujqm mašiiānqm*  
*frazaršta aēšqm raiθiia*  
*asrū azānō hištəṇte*  
*anu.zafanō takahe*

He (Miθra) sweeps away the crumbling dwellings,  
the no longer inhabitable abodes  
in which (used to) live the owners of Falsehood who are false to the treaty  
and strike at what virtually owns Truth:  
The cow, accustomed to pastures,  
is driven along the dusty road of captivity,  
dragged forward in the clutches of treaty infringing men  
as their draught animal,  
choking with tears they (cows) stand  
slobbering at the mouth (lit. a flow (being) along the mouth).<sup>452</sup>

Furthermore, according to Yt 10.84, pleads with Miθra a cow who desires to be milked.<sup>453</sup> Like Miθra, Indra is a protector of cattle by releasing them from the cave Vala:

RV 2.12.3 *yó hatváhim áriṇāt saptá síndhūn yó gá udájad apadhá valásya*  
*yó áśmanor antár agníṃ jajāna samvṛk samátsu sá janāsa indrah*<sup>454</sup>

Who, having smashed the serpent, let flow the seven rivers who drove away  
the cattle by uncovering Vala.  
Who produced the fire between two stones, gathering the winnings in contests,  
he, O peoples, is Indra.<sup>455</sup>

Furthermore, the direct relationship between Mihr and Frēdōn appears in the Šāhnāma (ed. Bertels, vol. I, 79, vv 9-10) according to which the Mihragān celebration and the

<sup>451</sup> For *vouru.gaoiiaoiti*- see Bailey (1954: 138); Gershevitch (1967: 151).

<sup>452</sup> The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 92-93).

<sup>453</sup> For the Avestan text and its English translation see Gershevitch (1967: 133).

<sup>454</sup> Edition by van Nooten & Holland (1994: 120).

<sup>455</sup> Translation by Jamison & Brereton (2014: Vol. I, 416).

establishment of the month Mihr<sup>456</sup> are ascribed to Frēdōn:

پرستیدن مهرگان دین اوست      تن آسانی و خوردن آیین اوست  
اگر یادگارست از او ماه مهر      بکوش و برنج ایچ منمای چهر

*parastīdan-ī mihragān dēn-ī ō-st/tan āsanī-yu xvardan ā 'tīn-ī ō-st*  
*agar yādagār ast az ō māh-ī mihr/be kōš-u be ranj ēč manmāy čīhr*

Worshiping Mihragān is his religion/relaxing body and eating are his cult.

If the month Mihr is a memento from him/strive and do not face any suffering.<sup>457</sup>

Likewise, as mentioned above, Biruni in the *Āṣār al-Bāqīya 'n al-Qorun al-Xāliya* relates the Mihragān celebration to the victory of Frēdōn over Ẓahhāk. As far as the opposition between Miθra and the dragon Dahāka is concerned, in Mithraism, the corresponding deity Mithras seems to be a dragon-slayer since a Mithraic ritualistic performance of a simulated dragon slaying is reported in a passage attributed to Lampridius (Widengren 1965: 44-45).<sup>458</sup> As discussed in Y 9.8 commentary 3 *hazārwižōstār*, in the Avesta, the dragon Dahāka and Miθra also bear the epithet *hazañrā.yaoxšti-*. However, *adādag pad gōhrag* “unjust by essence” appears as the gloss to *hazārwižōstār*, the epithet of Evil Spirit in Y 9.8 and the Pahlavi translation of Av. *hazañrā.yaoxštīm*. Therefore, the evidence shows that Evil Spirit’s unjust *hazārwižōstār* is also the antagonist of Mihr’s just epithet.

Av. *jahī-* (= Phl. *jeh*) opposes the Zoroastrian goddesses Av. *arəduuī- sūrā- anāhitā-* and *ārmaiti-* “Right Mindness (the pious daughter of Ahura Mazdā)” in the Zoroastrian literature (Rose 2015: 276). However, the features of Jahī as described in the Vd 18.61-63 contrast with those of Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā according to Yt 5.2.<sup>459</sup>

<sup>456</sup> The name of the seventh month of the Zoroastrian calendar.

<sup>457</sup> My translation.

<sup>458</sup> Hinnells (1975: 205) states that the dragon slaying ritual must be absent in Mithraism since the snake is ‘a symbol of a beneficial life-giving force’. However, it should be noted that although there is no text written by the followers of the cult of Mithras, according to the personification of the dragons in the Zoroastrian literature, their appearances are different from those of snakes, for example, the three-muzzled, three-headed six-eyed dragon Dahāka. In addition, in IrBd 4.15, snakes and dragons are listed as two different noxious creatures. Moreover, while dragons are killed by heroes, snakes are recommended not to be killed although they are noxious creatures: IrBd 22.18 *gōwēd kū xrafstar hamāg jādūg ud mār jādūgtar bē ū-š zadan nē gōwēd* “One says that noxious creatures are all sorcerers and serpent is the most sorcerous but it is said (that snakes) not to be killed.” It should be noted that Anklesaria (1956: 186) reads the second verb in the above passage as *nē mīrēd* “does not die” and interprets *bē ū-š zadan nē gōwēd* as *bē agar-iz zanēnd nē mīrēd* “and does not die unless they kill it”. However, in the text of the manuscript TD2, the second verb is obviously written as *YMRRN(N)-yt' (gōwēd)*. Furthermore *agar-iz* is absent in TD2 (Anklesaria 1908: 145, line 2). The text of IrBd 22.18 agrees with the position of the snake in the still living Zoroastrian traditions according to which snakes should not be killed. For the position of snakes in Zoroastrianism see Mazdapour (2008 (1387): 204-220).

<sup>459</sup> For a commentary to Yt 5 see Reichelt (1911: 100-109).

Yt 5.2	Vd 18.62
<i>yā vīspanqm aršnqm xšudrā yaoždaḍāiti</i> “(Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā) who purifies the seeds of all men.” <sup>460</sup>	<i>yō xšudrā hqm.raēθβiieiti dahmanqm adahmanqmca daēuuaiiasnanqm adaēuuaiiasnanqmca</i> “(Jahī) who mixes, the seeds of the faithful and unfaithful, (the seeds) of the demon-worshippers and non-demon-worshippers.” <sup>461</sup>

According to Yt 5.2 Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā *vīspanqm aršnqm xšudrā yaoždaḍāiti* “purifies the seed of men”. By contrast, Jahī mixes the seeds of the righteous and non-righteous ones. Moreover, while Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā is apparently the goddess of waters, the gaze of the demoness Jahī stops the flowing waters:

Vd 18.63 *ḡrišum apqm ḡraotōstāinqm txmanqm pairištaiieiti paiti.dīti zaraḡuštra ḡrišum uruuaranqm uzuxšiiēntinqm srīranqm zairi.gaonanqm vaxšā apaiiasaite paiti.dīti zaraḡuštra*

She holds one third of the powerful flowing waters  
 by (her) gaze O Zaraḡuštra!  
 She withers one third of the plants (which are) growing up,  
 beautiful, yellow-coloured, growing,  
 by (her) gaze O Zaraḡuštra!<sup>462</sup>

Finally, in Y 9.8, *daēuuīm drujām* is described as Av. *aš.aojanhām* “the very powerful”, rendered by *was ōz* “of many powers” in Pahlavi. Likewise, the goddess is described in Yt 5.64 as Av. *aš.amā-* “very powerful”:

Yt 5.64. *upatacaṭ arəduui sūra anāhita kainīnō kəhrpa srīraiīā aš.amaiīā huraodaiīā ...*

Arđvī Sūrā Anāhita hurried towards (him)  
 in the shape of a beautiful lady  
 (in the shape) of the very powerful (lady), (in the shape) of a good-looking (lady) ...<sup>463</sup>

In conclusion, in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.8, the triad of two male evil beings and a

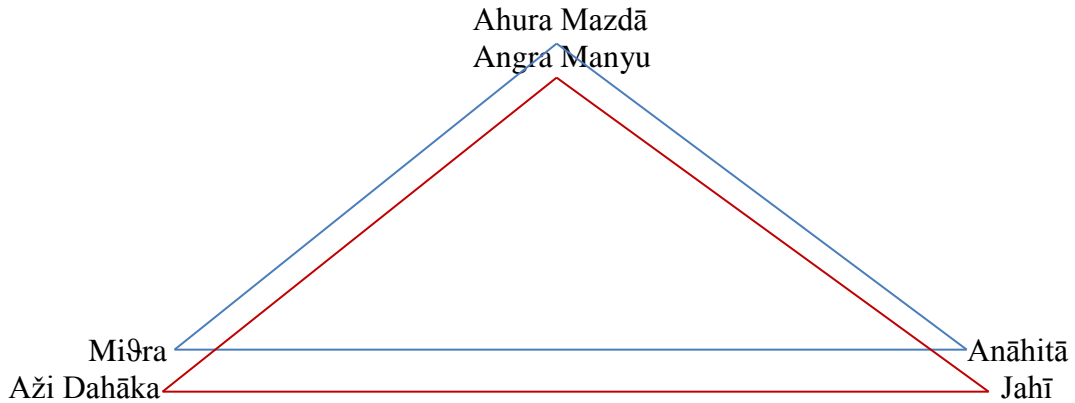
<sup>460</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: II, 82).

<sup>461</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 120).

<sup>462</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 120).

<sup>463</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: II, 91).

demoness can be distinguished. The evidence suggests that their attributes contrast with those of Ahura Mazdā, Miθra and the goddess Anāhitā. In what follows, the dichotomy of the two Ahuric and Daevic triads is drawn:



**6) Line 5 Y 9.8bP** *wattar ō gēhān* “worse for the material world”

Av. dat. pl. *gaēθāuuuiō* is translated by *ō gēhānān* in YInP J2, K5 and M1. By contrast, in the Iranian manuscripts the dative expressing *ō* is deleted. As discussed in section 3.1, one of the features of the corrected manuscripts, written down in the eighteenth century, is the deletion of prepositions and andverbs. Therefore, in agreement with YIndPs, *ō* is employed in the present edition. Omitting *ō*, the Iranian manuscripts also write the pl. *wattarān* probably by analogy with *gēhān*.

As stated above, *gaēθāuuuiō* appears as the double plural *gēhānān* in the Indian manuscript in contrast to pl. *gēhān* in YIrP. The erroneous form *gēhānān* is probably by analogy with NP. *ērānyān* (ایرانیان) which is the double plural of *ērān* (ایران) “Iranians”. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, in agreement with the Iranian manuscripts, the correct form *gēhān* is employed in the present edition

**7) Line 7 Y 9.8cP** *frāz kīrrēnīd* “mis-created”

The Pahlavi verb *frāz kīrrēnīd* translates Av. *fracā kərəntaṭ* lit. “to cut forth”. The verb describes the demonic creation in contrast to *dādan* “to create” which is used for the creation of the beneficent camp. Therefore, it is translated as “mis-created” in the present edition.<sup>464</sup>

<sup>464</sup> For a discussion on *kīrrēnīdan* see Lincoln (1997: 681-685).

**8) Line 12 Y 9.8cP** *ēd* “this”

While in YIndP J2, K5, M1 together with YIrP F2, *ēd* in *ān ēd āmār kū* “that the reckoning of this is that” appears, it is replaced by *ān* in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b. Regarding the editorial judgement, although both variants are correct, in agreement with the reading of the base text K5, *ēd* is employed in the present edition.

**9) Line 14 Y 9.8cP** *ā-š be kard* “then, she did”

In YIrP G14, *ā-š* “then she” is replaced by *u-š* “and she”. However, it appears as *ā-š* in the other manuscripts in agreement with which, *ā-š* is employed in the present edition.

**10) Line 15 Y 9.8cP** *ud im būd tis ī-š tuwān būd kardan* “and this meant the thing that she could do”

In YIrP F2, *tis* (*MND* ‘*M*’) is replaced by *abar* (*QDM*) “up, on, over” in the following context:

*ud im būd čiš/abar* (F2) *ī-š tuwān būd kardan*  
*u-š nē kard*

and this meant the thing/over (F2) that she could do,  
 he did not do.

It is obvious that the reading of F2 is semantically meaningless. The same problem also exists with considering *QDM* as the corrupt heterogram of *abar* (‘*p̄l*’) “higher, superior”. It seems that 𐭥𐭥 in F2 is a misspelling of 𐭥𐭥𐭥.

As regards *kardan*, with the exception of F2, writing *kard*, in the other Iranian manuscripts *kardan* “to do” in *tis ī-š tuwān būd kardan* “the thing that she could do” is omitted. However, it is obvious that without the infinitive *kardan* “to do”, the sentence is incomplete. As far as the reading of F2 is concerned, *kard* can also be interpreted as the short infinitive. Nonetheless, with the base text, *kardan* is selected in the present edition. Moreover, in YIrP Pt4 *abāyēd ā-š kard* is added in the following context:

*tis ī-š tuwān būd kardan*  
*u-š nē kard* Pt4 *abāyēd ā-š kard*]

the thing that she could do,  
 he did not do, Pt4 It is necessary, then, (s)he did].



As regards the editorial judgement, it is absent in the other manuscripts especially the copies of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line<sup>465</sup> and T55b, closely related to Pt4. As discussed in section 3.1, one of the features of the Pahlavi corrected texts is the insertion of commentaries which are absent in the older copies. Therefore, *abāyēd ā-š kard* is not employed in the present edition.

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<sup>465</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

#### 4.9 Y 9.9

- 1 (Y 9.9aA)** *kasə 9βqm*  
**2** *9ritiiō haōma mašiiō*  
**3** *astuuai9iiāi hunūta gaē9iiāi*  
**4** *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*  
**5** *ciṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*

- 1-3 (Y 9.9aA)** Who, O Haōma, was the third mortal to press you for the material creature?  
**4** What reward was granted to him?  
**5** What boon came to him?

- 1 (Y 9.9aP)** *kē tō*  
**2** *sidīgar hōm az mardōmān*  
**3** *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē*  
**4** *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard*  
**5** *ud čē ō ōy mad ābādīh*

- 1-3 (Y 9.9aP)** Who, O Hōm, as the third one among men in the material world pressed you?  
**4** what respect was shown to him?  
**5** and what prosperity came to him?<sup>1</sup>

**1) Line 5 Y 9.9aP** *ud čē ō ōy mad ābādīh* “and what prosperity came to him?”

In YIrP G14 and T6, the dative preposition *ō*, expressing the dative case in *ahāmi*, is replaced by *ān* “that”. However, *ō* correctly expresses the dative case in the other collated manuscripts in agreement with which it is employed in the present edition.

#### 4.10 Y 9.10

**1 (Y 9.10aA)** *āaṭ mē aēm paitiiaoxta*  
**2** *haōmō aṣauua dūraošō*  
**3 (Y 9.10bA)** *ḡritō sāmanqm səuuištō*  
**4** *ḡritiio mqm maṣiio*  
**5** *astuuaiḡiiaī hunūta gaēḡiiaī*  
**6** *hā ahmāi aṣiš ərənāuui*  
**7** *taṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*  
**8 (Y 9.10cA)** *yaṭ hē puḡra us.zaiioiḡe*  
**9** *uruuāxšaiio kərəsāspasca*  
**10 (Y 9.10dA)** *ṭkaēšō aḡiio dātō.rāzō*  
**11 (Y 9.10dA)** *āaṭ aḡiio uparō.kairiio*  
**12** *yauua gaēsusḡ gadauuarō*

**1 (Y 9.10aA)** Thereupon answered me,  
**2** the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult:  
**3 (Y 9.10bA)** Ḡrita, the strongest of the Sāmas  
**4** as the third mortal  
**5** pressed me for the material creature.  
**6** This reward was granted to him,  
**7** this boon came to him,  
**8 (Y 9.10cA)** that two sons were born to him,  
**9** Uruuāxšaiia and Kərəsāspa,  
**10 (Y 9.10dA)** the one as a judge, a law giver,  
**11 (Y 9.10dA)** then, the other(one) a supreme worker,  
**12** curly haired youth carrying a mace.

**1 (Y 9.10aP)** *ēg-iš ō man ōy passōx guft*  
**2** *hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*  
**3 (Y 9.10bP)** *srīd ī sāmān ī sūdxwāstār*  
**4** *[hād srīdīh ēd būd*  
**5** *kū pus ī sidīgar būd*  
**6** *u-š sūdxwāstārīh ēd būd*  
**7** *kū-š sūd ī dāmān nēk dānist xwāst]*  
**8** *man sidīgar az mardōmān*  
**9** *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīdam*  
**10** *ōy ān tarsagāhīh kard*  
**11** *ō ōy mad ābādīh*  
**12 (Y 9.10cP)** *ka az ōy dō pus ul zād hēnd*  
**13** *urwāxš ud kirsāsp*  
**14 (Y 9.10dP)** *dādwar any [būd urwāxš kū wizīr ud dādwarīh kard] ud dādārāstār*  
**15** *[kū-š dād ī frārōn be nihād]*  
**16 (Y 9.10eP)** *ud ān ī any abarkār*  
**17** *ud juwān gēsuar ud gadwar*  
**18** *[kirsāsp kū-š kār pad gad wēš kard*  
**19** *māhwindād guft*  
**20** *hād dād ī tāzīg būd u-š az gēsuar be guft*

21 *māhgušnasp guft*

22 *hād ēd-iš nē škeftīh čē gēs turk-iz dārēd]*

1 (Y 9.10aP) Then, he<sup>1</sup> answered me,

2 Hōm who is righteous (and) averts perdition:

3 (Y 9.10bP) Srīd son of the Sāms who is the seeker of benefit

4 [That is: being Srīd was this

5 that he was the third son

6 and being benefit seeker was this<sup>2</sup>

7 that he knew well (and) sought the benefit of the creatures],

8 as the third one among men,

9 pressed me in the material world.

10 The respect was shown to him,

11 the prosperity came to him,<sup>3</sup>

12 (Y 9.10cP) when two sons were born from him,<sup>4</sup>

13 Urwāxš and Kirsāsp.<sup>5</sup>

14 (Y 9.10dP) The one as a judge [was Urwāxš who (made) decision and made judgement] and, (he was also) an adorer of law<sup>6</sup>

15 [who established the righteous law].<sup>7</sup>

16 (Y 9.10eP) And the other one superior worker<sup>8</sup>

17 and young<sup>9</sup> with curly hair and carrier of a mace

18 [Kirsāsp who did many works with the mace<sup>11</sup>.

19 Māhwindād said:

20 ‘Yes,<sup>11</sup> it was an Arabian rule and he said about the curly haired one.’<sup>12</sup>

21 Māhgušnasp said:

22 ‘Yes, this is not strange since he also has the curly Turkic hair.’<sup>13</sup>

### 1) Line 1 Y 9.10aP *ēg-iš* “Then, he”

YIrP T6 opens the Pahlavi version with *ēdōn* “thus, so”. By contrast, in YIndP K5 and M1, *ēg-iš* occurs. While Phl. *ēdōn* and *ēg-iš* correspond to *āaṭ* in Av. *āaṭ mē aēm paitiiaoxta*, *āaṭ* is left untranslated in the other manuscripts. In agreement with the reading of the base text K5, *ēg-iš* is employed in the present edition.

### 2) Line 6 Y 9.10bP *u-š sūdxwāstārīh ēd būd* “and being benefit seeker was this”

In YIndP J2, the verb *būd* is absent, however, in agreement with its sister manuscript K5 and other collated copies, *būd* is employed in the present edition. As regards *sūdxwāstārīh*, Av. *səuuišta-* “the strongest” is always rendered by *sūdxwāstār*. Probably, the Pahlavi translators derived *səuuišta-* from the root *sū* “to benefit” added to *iš* “to desire” (Josephson 1997: 51).

**3) Line 11 Y 9.10bP** *ō ōy mad ābādīh* “the prosperity came to him”

YIndP K5 and M1 write *ān* after *ōy*. However, it has no counterpart in the Avestan original. Therefore, in agreement with the reading of the base text sister manuscript, or J2, *ān* is omitted in the present edition. This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

**4) Line 12 Y 9.10cP** *ka az ōy dō pus ul zād hēnd*<sup>466</sup> “when two sons were born from him”

In Y 9.10, Phl. *az* is attested in YInd K5 and M1. In addition to Y 9.10, the formulaic structure occurs in Y 9.4, 7, 13 in all of which *az* occurs in all of the collated manuscripts. Therefore, *az* is employed in the edition of Y 9.10.

**5) Line 13 Y 9.10cP** *urwāxš ud kirsāsp* “Urwāxš and Kirsāsp”

According to Y 9.10, two sons were born to Ōrita namely Urwāxš and Kirsāsp. The account agrees with IrBd 35.32 according to which Urwāxš and Kirsāsp were brothers. However, nothing much is found about Av. *uruuāxšaiia*-/ Phl. *urwāxš* other than Yt 15.28 and Yt 19.41. According to the former passage, Av. *kərəsāspa*- begs Av. *vaiiu*- “Wind” to enable him to avenge his brother’s murder by killing his enemy, Hitāspa:

Yt 15.28 *aom jaiḍiiat*  
*auuat āiiaptəm dazdi mē*  
*vaiiuš yō uparō.kairiiō*  
*yaṭ kaēna ni.jasāni*  
*azəm barāḍrō uruuāxšaiia*  
*yaṭ janāni hitāspəm*  
*raiḍe paiti vazaiḍiiāi*  
*uiti ašti.gafiiō āhūiriš*  
*uiti aēuuō.gafiiō paitiš*  
*uiti gaṇdarəβō upāpō*

He prays to him.  
 give me that boon,  
 Wind, who are the supreme worker,  
 that I may come down as the avenger  
 of my brother, Uruuāxšaiia,  
 that I may slay Hitāspa

<sup>466</sup> Phl. *zād hēnd* translates 3<sup>rd</sup> du. ind *us.zaiiḍiḍe*. For a discussion on the ending see Y 9.5 commentary 1 *frāz raft hēnd*.

to drive him on my chariot,  
likewise (may be) the Ahuric Ašti.gafīia,  
likewise (may be) the lord Aēuuō.gafīia,  
likewise (may be) the aquatic Gaṇdarəβa.<sup>467</sup>

According to Yt 19, Kərəsāspa succeeded in taking revenge against Hitāspa:

Yt 19.41 *yō janaṭ*  
*gaṇdarəβəm yim zairi.pāšnəm*  
*yō apataṭ vīzafārō*  
*mərəxšānō gaēθā astuuaitīš aṣahe*  
*yō janaṭ*  
*hunauuō yaṭ paθanaīia nauua*  
*hunauuasca niuuikahe*  
*hunauuasca dāštaiīānōiš*  
*yō janaṭ*  
*zaraḥīiō.pusəm hitāspəm*  
*varəšaomca dānaiianəm*  
*pitaonəmca aš.pairikəm*

Who slew  
Gaṇdarəβa, who had yellow heel, who  
rushed about with wide-open mouth  
to destroy the world of Truth;  
who slew  
the nine sons of Paθana,  
the sons of Niuuika,  
the sons of Dāštaiīāni;  
who slew  
Hitāspa of golden diadem  
and Varəšauua, the son of Dāna,  
and Pitaona accompanied by powerful witches.<sup>468</sup>

As regards Av. *kərəsāspa*-,<sup>469</sup> its corresponding variant *kərəšāspa*- also occurs in manuscripts. The spellings of the Avestan word together with the transliterations of its corresponding Pahlavi word in Y 9.10 as attested in the Pahlavi manuscripts are listed in the

<sup>467</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: II, 223). Av. *ašti.gafīia*- is read as *asti.gafīia*- by Geldner (1886-1896: II, 223) with the manuscript J10 and MI2 in which the spelling *s* is attested. Darmesteter (1898: II, 225-226), translating *ašti.gafīia*- and *aēuuō.gafīia*- as “is in the deep” and “only of the deep”, respectively, considers them as the epithets of Av. *gaṇdarəβa*-. For *ašti.gafīia*- and *aēuuō.gafīia*- as proper nouns see Mayrhofer (1979: I/26 and I/2), respectively. Interestingly, *kərəsāspa*- prays to be the avenger of an Ahuric being and a lord namely *ašti.gafīia*- and *aēuuō.gafīia*-, respectively. It may reflect the unique position of the hero Kərəsāspa who in spite of being a very powerful hero, has committed several offences such as insulting fire (DkM 803.6-12; PRDd 18; SdBd 20), idol worshipping (Pahlavi version of Vd 9.1) and walking without the sacred girdle, or Kusti (IrBd 31.17-18).

<sup>468</sup> Edition and translation by Hintze (1994b: 23-24).

<sup>469</sup> Av. *kərəsāspa*- “having slim (meagre) horses” is composed of two elements; *kərəsa*- which is derived from IE *\*k<sup>u</sup>erk* “to become thin” and *aspa*- meaning “horse”. See IEW. 581; Myerhofer (1977: I. 60I); LIV. 355.

following table:

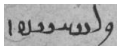
**Table 9. Manuscripts readings of Av. *kərəsāspa-* and Phl. *kirsāsp* in transliteration.**

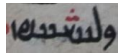
Manuscript	Avestan original	Pahlavi translation
YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57r)	<i>kərəsāspasca</i>	<i>kls 'sp'</i> <sup>470</sup>
YIrP Mf4 (fol. 77v)	<i>kərəšāspasca</i>	<i>kls 'sp</i>
YIrP G14 (fol. 56r)	<i>kərəšāspasca</i>	<i>klš 'sp'</i>
YIrP F2 (fol. 55r)	<i>kərəšāspasca</i>	<i>klš 'sp</i>
YIrP T6 (fol. 47v)	<i>kərəšāspasca</i>	<i>klš 'sp'</i>
YIrP T55b (fol. 73v)	<i>kərəsāspasca</i>	<i>klyšsp'</i> <sup>471</sup>
YIndP J2 (fol. 85r)	<i>kərəsāspasca</i>	<i>kls 'sp'</i>
YIndP K5 (fol. 63v)	<i>kərəsāspasca</i>	<i>kls 'sp'</i>
YIndP M1 (fol. 164r-164v)	<i>kərəsāspasca</i>	<i>kls 'sp'</i>

The replacement of *s* by *š* in the Avestan original of some manuscripts could be by analogy with *s* to *š* retraction after *r*, especially with 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. ipt. aor. mid. *kərəšuuā* “exercise” of the root *kar* “to make”.<sup>472</sup>

As far as the Pahlavi spellings are concerned, in addition to the variants listed in Table 9, the Pahlavi word is spelled as *gls 'sp*, *glyš 'sp* and *kylš 'sp*.<sup>473</sup> It has also been transcribed differently by scholars as *kirsāsp*, *kersāsp*, *karsāsp* and *karšāsp*. In New Persian, the word appears as *garšāsb*. However, since in the Arabic sources, it is attested with the initial *k* rather than *j*, corresponding to the New Persian *g*, Khaleghi-Motlagh (2001 (1380): Notes I/1, 168) suggests that in Early New Persian the word must have been *karšāsb*.

Regarding the historical development of *k > g* and the replacement of *s* by *š*, Skjærvø (2011a) mentions that the New Persian *garšāsb* is probably by analogy with the epithet of

<sup>470</sup> The alternative spelling for  is *klyšsp'*, unmarking the long *ā*. However, it should be noted that *klyšsp'* is the misinterpretation of *kls 'sp'* (Skjærvø 2011a).

<sup>471</sup> In T55b (fol. 53v line 13), the spelling *š* is confirmed by three diacritic dots: .

<sup>472</sup> For *s* to *š* retraction after *r*, *u*, *k*, *i*, or RUKI rule and the examples in Avestan see Martinez & de Vaan (2014: 32-33, §11.20.5).

<sup>473</sup> See Skjærvø (2011a).

*gayōmard*, or *garšāh* “the king of mountains”. However, the evidence casts doubt on Skjærvø’s suggestion because while the replacement of *s* by *š* also occurs in Avestan, as shown above, the interchange between *k* and *g* is absent. Moreover, the Early New Persian *karšāsb* does not support the analogy theory. In addition, the interchange between the initial voiced *g* and unvoiced *k* has parallels in Middle Persian and New Persian. For example, Phl. *gēhān* becomes *kēhān* in New Persian, or Manichaean Middle Persian *gawīr* “desert” is attested as *kavir* “desert” in New Persian.<sup>474</sup> The interchange in the opposite direction is also seen in the name of the hero *kašvād* in New Persian which becomes *gašvād*.<sup>475</sup> Another example is the name of the Turanian hero *karsivaz* in Early New Persian which becomes *garsivaz* (Khaleghi Motlagh 1987 (1366): XXVIII). Therefore, it can be concluded that the changes of the initial *k* > *g* and *s* > *š* are explainable without relating them to the analogy by *garšāh*.

In the present edition, the Pahlavi word is transcribed with *k* and *s*. The reason is that the development *k* > *g* is late and the phoneme /s/ etymologically agrees with the expected spelling of the word.

As far as the transcription of the vocalic Ir. \**ɣ*, Av. *ərə*, is concerned, it becomes *ur* after the labials and *ir* in other occurrences (Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 138-139, § 250). However, since Ir. \**ɣ* can also develop to *ar* in Pahlavi and New Persian, for example \**kṛta* > *kard*, MacKenzie (1967: 24, fn. 25) suggests the minimal triplets *i* ~ *e* ~ *a*. MacKenzie’s theory, however, is quite hypothetical because the existence of these types of triplets is uncertain (Skjærvø 2009: 200). Therefore, between the two vowels *a* and *i*, the latter is selected in the present edition, because the reading *i* is confirmed by the spelling, <kly>, <kyl> and <gyl> as shown above. The variant spellings, placing *y* before and after *l* could also suggest that the Pahlavi word used to be pronounced close to its Avestan original as *kirisāsp*.

**6) Line 14 Y 9.10dP** *dādwār any [būd urwaxš kū wizīr ud dādwārīh kard] ud dādārāstār*  
 “The one as a judge [was Urwāxš who (made) decision and made judgement] and, (he was also) an adorer of law”

The Pahlavi phrase *dādwār any* is the translation of the Avestan *ṭkaēšō anīiō*. While in

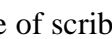
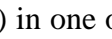
<sup>474</sup> See Mazdapour (2011 (1390): 414-415).

<sup>475</sup> It is recorded in Arabic as *jašvād* and *kašvād* by the Muslim historians Ṭabari (b. 839 CE-d. 923 CE) and Ṣa‘ālibi (b. 961 CE-d. 1038 CE), respectively (Khaleghi Motlagh 2001 (1380): Notes I/1, 387). Therefore, it seems that the development of *k* > *g* had started in the tenth century of CE. Khaleghi Motlagh (1987 (1366): XXVIII) chooses the more archaic variant *karsivaz* in his edition of the Šāhnāma.



YIndPs, Av. *āhiiō* is rendered correctly by the Phl. *any*, the Avestan word is translated by *ān ēd* “that is this or that means” in the late YIrPs. In agreement with the base text K5, *any* is employed in the present edition. It should be noted that in YIndP J2, K5 and M1, *any* is spelled by the heterogram *ZK-ȳ* which sometimes replaces *’HRN-ȳ* in the manuscripts.<sup>476</sup>

**7) Line 15 Y 9.10dP** *kū-š dād ī frārōn be nihād* “who established the righteous law”

In YIndP K5, M1, the verb *dānist* (YD *’YTWN-st*) “knew” replaces *niḥād* (HNḤTWN-*t*)<sup>477</sup> “established”. It is unclear whether the different readings in the sister manuscripts J2 and K5 are because of scribal correction or misspelling of the Pahlavi verb (J2: <sup>478</sup> vs. K5 <sup>479</sup>) in one of the manuscripts. However, semantically, the reading of J2 is preferable. Therefore, unlike the reading of the base text K5, *niḥād* is employed in the present edition. This would be in keeping with Greg’s (1950: 29) definition of the principles of the copy-text in which substantive readings found in a text of similar substantive authority as the chosen one can be selected.

**8) Line 16 Y 9.10eP** *ān ī any abarkār* “the other one superior worker”

Like the commentary 6, *any* in *ān any abarkār* is spelled by *ZK’-ȳ* in all of the collated manuscripts.

**9) Line 17 Y 9.10eP** *juwān* “young”

Av. *yauuan-* m. is rendered by Phl. *juwān* in Y 9.10. However, *juwān* is absent in G14 and T6. It is employed in the present edition because *juwān* is present in the the old YIndP J2, K5 and YIrP Pt4 and Mf4 which like G14 and T6 belong to the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line.<sup>480</sup>

**10) Line 18 Y 9.10eP** *kirsāsp kū-š kār pad gad wēš kard* “Kirsāsp who did many works with the mace”

The Avesta and Pahlavi texts state that *kirsāsp* carries a mace. In other Pahlavi texts, his

<sup>476</sup> For the different spellings of *any* see Salemann (*GlrPh* I/1, 294); MacKenzie (1971: 10); Nyberg (1974: 16).

<sup>477</sup> For minor variant readings see text-critical apparatus.

<sup>478</sup> J2 (fol. 85v line 2): 

<sup>479</sup> K5 (fol. 63v line 13): 

<sup>480</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

club *gad* is called as *arm-zadār* “arm-smashing” (Dēnkard 9.23.6),<sup>481</sup> *gāw-sar* “ox headed” (Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.84)<sup>482</sup> and *gad ī pērōzgar* “the victorious mace” (Zand ī Wahman Yasn 9.22).<sup>483</sup>

**11) Line 19-20 Y 9.10eP *māhwindād guft hād* “Māhwindād said: Yes”**

Māhwindād’s commentary begins with *kū* “that” in YIrPs, *ay* in YIndP J2 and *hād* in YIndP K5 and M1. While all of the variant readings are correct semantically, in agreement with the base text K5, *hād* is employed in the present edition.

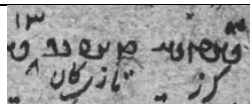

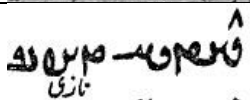
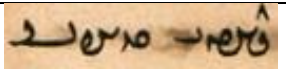
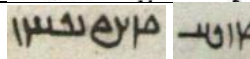
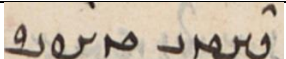
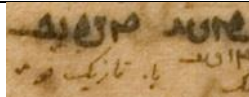
**12) Line 20 Y 9.10e *gēsvar* “curly haired one”**

In YIrPs, the Pahlavi word appears as the abstract *gēsvarīh* “having curly hair”. By contrast, YIndP K5, M1 write *gēsvar* “curly haired one”.<sup>484</sup> While both readings are semantically meaningful, following the base text K5, *gēsvar* is employed in the present edition.

**13) Line 20, 22 Y 9.10eP *dād ī tāzīg būd ... hād ēd-iš nē škeftīh čē gēs turk-iz dārēd* “it was an Arabian rule ... Yes, this is not strange since he also has the curly Turkic hair].”**

In what follows, the manuscript readings of Phl. *dād ī tāzīg* are listed:

**Figure 32. The variant readings of *dād ī tāzīg*.**

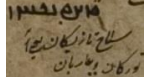
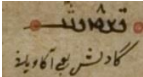
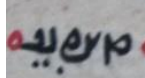
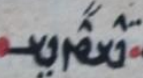
YIrP		YIndP	
Pt4 (fol. 57v line 1)		J2 (fol. 85v line 6)	
Mf4 (p. 154 line 9)		K5 (fol. 63v line 16)	
G14 (fol. 56v line 11-12)		M1 (fol. 164v line 13)	
F2 (fol. 55v line 4)		-	-

<sup>481</sup> For *arm-zadār* and an edition and a translation of Dēnkard 9.23 see Vevaina (2015: 178-180).

<sup>482</sup> For *gāw-sar* and an edition and a translation of Dādestān ī Dēnīg 36.84 see Jaafari-Dehaghi (1998: 140-141).

<sup>483</sup> For *gad ī pērōzgar* and an edition and a translation of Zand ī Wahman Yasn 9.22 see Cereti (1995: 146-147, 168). For Kirsāsp see Skjærvø (2011a).

<sup>484</sup> The reading in YIndP J2 is illegible.

T6 (fol. 47v line 9-10)			-	-
T55b (fol. 74r line 7)			-	-


According to the table, while YIndPs spell *d't* *Y*, *d* is interpreted as *g* in YIrPs by placing two diacritic marks above <sup>د</sup> in Pt4, G14, F2 and T6. The manuscript T55b places both ^, showing *d*, and two dots above <sup>د</sup>.<sup>485</sup> However, in its left margin, the corrected form appears as *gtyh*.<sup>486</sup> Furthermore, the interlinear New Persian version of T6 reads the word as *gādiš*. The Pahlavi word is also translated as NP. *gurz* “mace” (Pt4), NP. *jang* “war” (F2) and NP. *ā kāvyānī* “Kavian *ā*?” (T6). In addition, the marginal *selāh gurz* “weapon, mace” translates *gtyh* in T55b.

It is obvious that the New Persian reading of the Pahlavi word as *gādiš* in T6 is semantically meaningless and wrong. In addition, *d't* or *g't* is not the correct spelling of *gt* (*gad*) “mace” which all manuscripts spell correctly in the preceding *ud juwān gēsuar ud gadwar kirsāsp kū-š kār pad gad wēš kard*. It seems that the scribes of the Iranian manuscripts associated the word with the preceding *kirsāsp kū-š kār pad gad wēš kard* and accordingly interpreted the Pahlavi word. Therefore, in agreement with the reading of YIndPs, *dād ī* is employed in the present edition.

As far as the adjective *tāzīg* is concerned, it is derived from the Arab tribal name *ṭayy* to which the ethnic suffix *črk > zīg* is attached.<sup>487</sup> The tribe played an important role in the history of Arabs and its name was generalised to Arabs in Aramaic probably from the fourth century onwards in the form of *Ṭayyāye* (Segal 1984: 100-103). The corresponding Pahlavi term *tāzīg* was used by Iranians to denote Arabs perhaps after 602 CE when the victorious Husraw (r. 598-628 CE), unexpectedly deposed his ally No‘mān III of the Arab Lakhmanid after whom Iyas of the Ṭayy tribe ruled over al-Ḥira (Bosworth 2000: 62-63).<sup>488</sup>

As shown above, Phl. *tāzīg* appears as the plural *tāzīgān* in YIrP Pt4 (*-ān* superscript), G14 and T6. By contrast, in YIrP Mf4, F2, T55b and YIndP J2, K5, M1, the singular form *tāzīg* occurs. As regards *turk-iz*, it is written as the plural *turk'n-iz* in YIrP G14 and T6. In

<sup>485</sup> The diacritical marks in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b and IndPY J2, K5, M5 are studied in my unpublished MA dissertation (Khanizadeh 2013: 39-55).

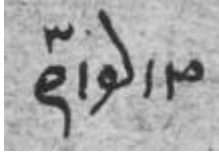
<sup>486</sup> 

<sup>487</sup> Quatremère (1845: 154-155) first put forward that *tāzīg* “Arab” goes back to *ṭayy*. For etymological studies of the word see Schaefer (1941: 27); Sundermann (1993: 166).

<sup>488</sup> For a discussion on the relations between Iranians and Arabs during the pre-Islamic period see Bosworth (1983: 593-612).

Pt4 (fol. 57v line 3) and F2 (fol. 55v line 6) *twlk-c* is attested on the line whereas *'n* is written with small (and pale: F2) letters above the line:

Figure 33. Left YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57r line 3); right YirP F2 (fol. 55v line 6).



The variant readings *tāzīgān* and *turkān* in YIrPs, especially those of Hōšang Syāwaxš-line,<sup>489</sup> show that they are the result of scribal correction. The reason is that YIrP Mf4 and T55b, closely related to Pt4, write *tāzīg* and *turk* with the old YIndP J2 and K5. Furthermore, in Pt4 and F2, *-ān* is not part of the main text. Therefore, in the present edition *tāzīg* and *turk* are employed.

Regarding the dating of the commentary of Y 9.10, the term *tāzīg* was used by Iranians from the seventh century onwards to denote Arabs as mentioned above. Moreover, the curly hair of Kərəsāspa is compared with the hair of Turks in the commentary. The earliest attestation of the word Turk in any Iranian language occurs in the Bugut inscription, discovered in Karabalgasun (North Mongolia), in which the form *tr'wkt* describes the kings of the of the Turkish Ashinas tribe:

B-1, line 1-3. *rty (m)[wn']k nwm (sn)k' 'wst't δ'r-'nt tr-'wkt' (')šy-n's kwtr'tt 'xšy-wn'k 'Y-(K)' .m...m(wx)'n x'γ'n y'rwk' 'HY nw'r x'γ'n 'wr-kwp-'r cr-'cw mγ'' t't[t](p)['r] (x'γ'n)...*

Kings of Turkish Ashinas tribe have established [this] stone of law when ? Muqan Qaghan's Yaruka brother (named?) Nivar Qaghan for the sake of Urkupar Cracu Magha Tatpar Qaghan ...<sup>490</sup>

Although the inscription is in Sogdian, it is set up by Turks in 580 CE.<sup>491</sup> Chronologically, the second occurrence of the word is also in another Eastern Middle Iranian language, or Bactrian, in which *topko* “Turk” is attested in the document S, written in 693 CE:<sup>492</sup>

<sup>489</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšng Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

<sup>490</sup> Edition and translation by Yoshida & Moriyasu (1999: 123-124).

<sup>491</sup> See SgD, xxvi; Yoshida & Moriyasu (1999: 123-124).

<sup>492</sup> According to de Blois (2008: 991-997) the Bactrian era begins in 223 CE.

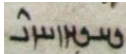

S line 1-4. ι αχρονο υ ο μανο βοχσιγο ρ[ωs]ο ριϕt[o] [k]λδο ναβιχt[o] μ[o]-  
 δδραγο χοησιαιοοβωστιγο μαλαβο γαζο αβο οανινδανο αβο λιζο α-  
 λβαρ πιδο τορκο γαζο ταδονο οδαζδδηβιδο σιτο γαζο νο-  
 μαρογαρο

(It was) the year 470, the month Bukhshig, the day Risht, when (this) sealed document, (this) contract of undertaking, was written here in Gaz, at Wanindan, the court of Fortress, in the presence of Ser the Turk, the *tudan* of Gaz and with the cognizance.<sup>493</sup>

In the Chinese sources, the term Turk occurs for the first time in 552 CE to describe people who called themselves Kōk-Türk. These Turkic peoples established an empire, ruled by Qaghans, spreading from the borders of China to Bactria. Their kingdom lasted until the middle of the eighth century CE (von Gabain 1983: 616). Moreover, the earliest texts, written in Old Turkic, date from the eighth century onwards (von Gabain 1983: 621). Therefore, the evidence shows that the commentary, containing the words *turk* and *tāzīg* cannot go beyond the seventh century CE.

In addition to *tāzīgān* and *turkān*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. ind. pres. *dārēd* is replaced by 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. subj. *dārānd* (YHŠNN- 'nd)<sup>494</sup> in YIrP G14 and T6 according to which *turkān* is interpreted as the subject of the verb in *hād ēd-iš nē škeftīh čē gēs turkān-iz dārānd* “Yes, this is not strange since Turks should also have the curly hair”. However, the subjunctive verb is absent in their related Iranian manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line and old YIndP J2, K5 in agreement with which *dārēd* is employed in the present edition.

<sup>493</sup> Translation by Sims-Williams (2007: 4.36; 5.19).

<sup>494</sup> G14 (fol. 56r line 13):  ; T6 (fol. 47v line 11): 

#### 4.11 Y 9.11

1 (Y 9.11aA) *yō janaṭ aẓīm sruuarəm*  
 2 *yīm aspō.garəm narə.garəm*  
 3 *yīm višsauuantəm zairitəm*  
 4 (Y 9.11bA) *yīm upairi viš araodaṭ*  
 5 *ārštiiō.barəza zairitəm*  
 6 (Y 9.11cA) *yīm upairi kərəsāspō*  
 7 *aiiaṇha pitūm pacata*  
 8 (Y 9.11dA) *ā rapiṭṭinəm zruuānəm*  
 9 *tafsaṭca hō mairiiō x<sup>v</sup>īsaṭca*  
 10 (Y 9.11eA) *fraš aiiaṇhō frasparaṭ*  
 11 *yaēšiiantim āpəm parāṇhāt*  
 12 (Y 9.11fA) *paraš tarštō apatacaṭ*  
 13 *naire.manā kərəsāspō*

1 (Y 9.11aA) Who slew the horned dragon,  
 2 the horse-devouring, man-devouring,  
 3 poisonous, yellow one,  
 4-5 (Y 9.11bA) upon whom, the yellow one, (poisonous) sting grew as high as a lance.  
 6 (Y 9.11cA) Upon whom, Kərəsāspa  
 7 cooked food in an iron cauldron.  
 8 (Y 9.11dA) At noon time,  
 9 the scoundrel became hot and began to sweat.  
 10 (Y 9.11eA) He knocked the iron cauldron forward.  
 11 He intended to throw aside the boiling water.  
 12 (Y 9.11fA) Terrified, ran aside,  
 13 the manly-minded Kərəsāspa.

1 (Y 9.11aP) *kē-š zad az ī srūwar*  
 2 *ī asb-ōbār ī mard-ōbār*  
 3 *ī wišōmand ī zard*  
 4 (Y 9.11bP) *kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād*  
 5 *asb-bālāy ān ī zard*  
 6 *[hād ēd ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud*  
 7 *xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna*  
 8 *ān any ī-š pad zaṭar be ōbast*  
 9 *kū kē ēdōn gōwēd*  
 10 *hād har dō ēk*  
 11 *ud any and bālāy ul šud*  
 12 *ud any and drahnāy be ōbast*  
 13 *ast kē ēdōn gōwēd*  
 14 *hād kabārīh abar pušt hušk ēstād]*  
 15 (Y 9.11cP) *kē pad ōy abar kirsāsp*  
 16 *ā-š pad ān āhanēn [dēg] pid poxt*  
 17 (Y 9.11dP) *ān tā ō rapihwin zamān*  
 18 *taft mar [kū-š garm būd] xwist*  
 19 *[kū dō pā būd]*

**20 (Y 9.11eP)** *u-š frāz ān ī āhanēn [dēg] frāz spurđ*  
**21** *ān ī ayārdēnīdag āb be raft*  
**22 (Y 9.11fP)** *parrōn pad tars be tazīd*  
**23** *mard menišn kirsāsp*  
**24** *[hād mard menišnīh ēd būd kū-š*  
**25** *dil pad gāh dāšt būd]*

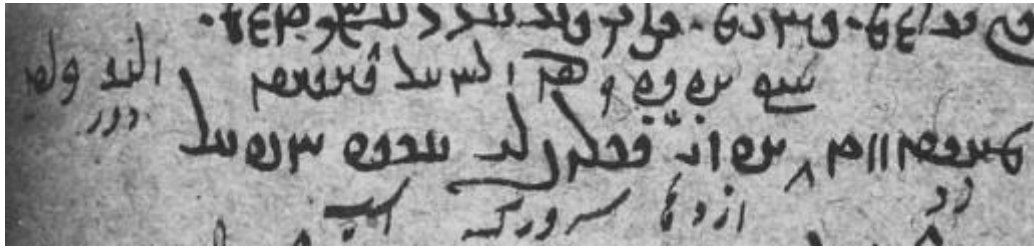
**1 (Y 9.11aP)** Who slew<sup>1</sup> the horned dragon,  
**2** the horse-devouring, man-devouring<sup>2</sup>  
**3** poisonous, yellow one,  
**4 (Y 9.11bP)** upon whom, his<sup>3</sup> poison<sup>4</sup> was thrown  
**5** as high as a horse<sup>5</sup>, the yellow (one)<sup>6</sup>.  
**6** [Know this: That one which went up to its head,  
**7** *over the tail, nose (and) top,*<sup>7</sup>  
**8** that means: The other one fell down through the mouth.<sup>8</sup>  
**9** There is one who says thus,  
**10** ‘Yes, both are the same  
**11** and as high as the one went up  
**12** and to the same length, the other one fell.’  
**13** There is one who says thus,  
**14** ‘Yes and also, anything made of the earthen pot remained dry over the back]<sup>9</sup>.’  
**15 (Y 9.11cP)** Upon whom, Kirsāsp  
**16** cooked food in an iron [cauldron].<sup>10</sup>  
**17 (Y 9.11dP)** At the noon watch,  
**18** the scoundrel became hot [that means: He was warm], sweated,  
**19** [that he was on two feet].<sup>11</sup>  
**20 (Y 9.11eP)** and he trampled on the iron [cauldron],<sup>12</sup>  
**21** the boiling water flowed away.  
**22 (Y 9.11fP)** In fear, ran away<sup>13</sup>  
**23** the manly-minded Kirsāsp.  
**24** [That is: manly-mindedness was this that his<sup>14</sup>  
**25** heart had been held in place].

### 1) Line 1 Y9.11aP *zad* “slew”

In YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57v line 6), appears the superscript and marginal *kū kard ud abāz dāšt ud dūr kard* “that (he) made and withheld and banished” whose place is marked by the sign “Λ” between *zad* and *az* in the main text. Between the superscript *kū* and *kard*, is also written 𐭪𐭪 which is omitted by three deletion dots:



Figure 34. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57v line 5-6).



As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, it only appears in one manuscript in which it is not even part of the main text. Therefore, in the present edition, it is not considered as an original commentary to *kē-š zad*.

## 2) Line 2 Y 9.11aP *asb-ōbār mard-ōbār* “horse-devouring, man-devouring”

The Avestan version of Y 9.11 describes the horned dragon as *aspō.garəm narə.garəm* “horse-devouring, man-devouring”. The verb *gar* “to devour” which constitutes the second element of these compounds, characterises certain demonic creatures and deceitful persons as “swallowing up” the good things of life also elsewhere in Avestan (Hintze 2007b: 124-127). By contrast, in Pahlavi, *ōbar* in *asb-ōbār mard-ōbār* corresponding to *gar* is formed from a different root.<sup>495</sup> However, the evidence shows that like the Av. *gar-*, the Pahlavi word *ōbār* refers to the action of eating carried out by Daēvic beings or deceitful people:

AWZ 39.2-3 *u-m dīd ruwān ī awēšān druwandān kē-šān be ōbārd ud did-iz ōbārd ud rīd ud did-iz ōbārd ud rīd...*

And I saw the souls of those wicked ones who swallowed (what they had) defecated and again swallowed and defecated...<sup>496</sup>

MX. 2. 117. *pad anāgīh-kāmagīh ī xešm ī xurdruš ud astwihād, kē hāmōyēn dām ōbārēd ud sagrīh nē dānēd*

(On the fourth day after death, the soul goes to the bridge of Divider, accompanied by the Yazds and) by the malevolence of the bloody-clubbed Wrath and Astwihād (Dismemberer demon), who swallows all creation and knows no satiety.<sup>497</sup>

<sup>495</sup> Different suggestions have been put forward regarding the etymology of *ōbār*. Nyberg (1974: Vol. II. 145) derives it from OIr. *\*ava-pāraya-* for which he does not provide any translation. But he associates *\*ava-pāraya-* with the root *par* “to cross”, attested in the Avestan causative *pāraia-* (Bartholomae’s *\*par*, *AirWb.* 851) meaning “to make pass down”. Henning (1933: 193), by contrast, considers the verb *ōbār* from *\*par* “to fill” which in the causative formation means “to make down fill”. Recently, Cheung (2007: 12) associated *ōbar* with Ir. *\*baru* “to chew, to swallow”.

<sup>496</sup> Edition and translation by Wahman (1986: 153, 210).

<sup>497</sup> My translation. For the Pahlavi text see <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/miran/mpers/mx/mx.htm>: Data entry by MacKenzie (1993); corrections by Jügel (2007-2008); TITUS version by Gippert (1998-2008).



IrBd 22.19. *ud mār ān-iz...hast kē az dūr gyāg ud gōspand ud asp ud mard abāz ō xwēš āhanjēd ud ōbārēd*

And of serpents.....there is that too, which from a distant place drags onto itself and devours ox, sheep, horse and man.<sup>498</sup>

The epithets *asb-ōbār* and *mard-ōbār* are also attested elsewhere in the Pahlavi literature to describe the horned dragon. Examples include:

DkM 597.14-15. ...*u-š pad-iš zad +az*<sup>499</sup> *ī srūwar ī asb-ōbār mard-ōbār...*

...and he (Kirsāsp) killed by that (the glory of Jam), the horned dragon, the horse-devouring, man-devouring,...<sup>500</sup>

PRDd. 18f5. ...*u-m garōdmān be dah az ī srūwar be ōzad ī asb-ōbār ī mard-ōbār...*<sup>501</sup>

...and grant me Garōdmān. (I) slew the horned dragon, the horse-eater, man-eater, ....<sup>502</sup>

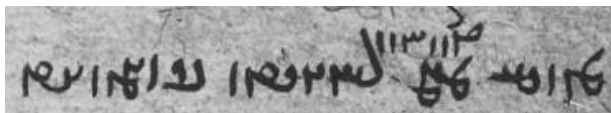
### 3) Line 4 Y 9.11bP *kē-š* “whom, his”

YIndPs write Phl. *kē-š* in *kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād* “upon whom, his poison was thrown”. By contrast, deleting -š and *wiš* after *abar*, *wiš* follows *kē* in YIrP G14 and T6:

YIrP G14 (fol. 56v line 3-4) T6 (fol. 48r line 2-3) *kē wiš abar rānēnīd ēstād*  
upon whom, the poison was thrown

Writing *kē-š* like YIndPs, *wiš* is omitted in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, F2 and T55b. Moreover, in Pt4, Mf4 and T55b, Phl. *tan ōh*, *tan* and *ō* appear after *abar* above the line, in the margin and on the line, respectively:

Figure 35. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 57v line 9).



YIrP Pt4 *kē-š abar tan ōh?*<sup>503</sup> *rānēnīd ēstād*

<sup>498</sup> The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 186-187).

<sup>499</sup> My correction. In the Madan edition, *az* is written as *gz*.

<sup>500</sup> My translation.

<sup>501</sup> Edition by Williams (1990: Vol. I, 105).

<sup>502</sup> Translation by Williams (1990: Vol.II, 40).

<sup>503</sup> The spelling 'w' can be read as either the preposition *ō* “to” or the pronoun *ōy* “he, she” or the particle *ōh* “in the usual way”. However, as it occurs before the verb, it is read as *ōh* in the present edition.

who, upon his body it was thrown in the usual way.

Figure 36. YIrP Mf4 (p. 154 line 17).

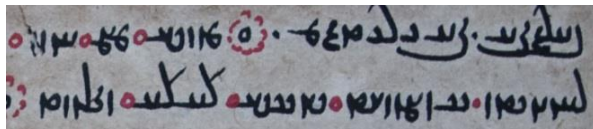


In Mf4 the place of the marginal *abar tan* is marked between *abar* and *rānēnīd*:

YIrP Mf4 *kē-š abar* (marg. *abar tan*) *rānēnīd ēstād*

who, upon his (body) it was thrown.

Figure 37. YIrP T55b (fol. 74v line 1-2).

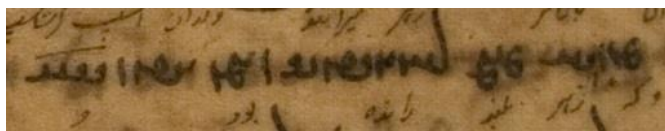


YIrP T55b line 1 *kē-š abar ōh?* Line 2 *rānēnīd ēstād*

who, upon him, it was thrown in the usual way.

In F2, while *wiš* occurs after *ēstād*, *tan* is absent. However, it seems that crossing out *yš* in *wyš* (*wiš*) by a horizontal line, the scribe edits the first letter as *W* “and”. It is corroborated by its corresponding New Persian interlinear translation و “and”:

Figure 38. YIrP F2 (fol. 55v line 11).



YIrP F2 *kē-š abar rānēnīd ēstād w(iš)*

upon whom, it was thrown and

As discussed above, YIrP F2 and the copies of Hōšang Syāwaxš-line<sup>504</sup> show different variant readings. From the superscript and marginal words, it can be assumed that the scribe(s) of Pt4 and Mf4 was uncertain whether or not these words should be incorporated into the text. Therefore, the evidence suggests that the scribes of the Iranian manuscripts

<sup>504</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

corrected the Pahlavi translation of *yim upairi viš araodaṭ* according to their understanding. By contrast, Av. *yim upairi viš araodaṭ* is rendered in YIndPs by the correct word-for-word Pahlavi translation *kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād* which is employed in the present edition.

#### 4) Line 4 Y 9.11bP *wiš* “poison”

The Pahlavi word *wiš* translates the Avestan root noun *viš-* in the sentence *yim upairi viš araodaṭ* “upon whom (i.e. the horned dragon) *viš* grew”.<sup>505</sup> Likewise, the Sanskrit thematic noun *viṣa-* “poison” (Unvala 1924: 20) and New Persian *zahr* (زهر)<sup>506</sup> “poison” render Av. *viš-/Phl. wiš* in the passage. Following Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1472), most scholars have also translated *viš-* as “poison”<sup>507</sup>. However, the translation of Av *viš-* as “poison” was challenged by Hintze (1994a: 215-216) and Sommer (2014: 384-396) as they argue that the meaning of the root noun should be different from that of the thematic stem, well attested in the IE languages.

Hintze discusses Av *viš-* in the commentary to Yt 19.40 whose text is parallel to that of Y 9.11 with minor discrepancies:<sup>508</sup>

Yt 19.40 *yō janaṭ ažīm sruuarəṃ*  
*yim aspō.garəṃ narə.garəṃ*  
*yim višauuaṇtəṃ zairitəṃ*  
*yim upairi viš araodaṭ*  
*xšuaēpaiia vanaiia.barəšna*  
*yim upairi viš araodaṭ*  
*ārštiiō.barəza zairitəṃ ...*

Who slew the horned dragon,  
the horse-devouring, man-devouring,  
poisonous, yellow one.  
On whom the poisonous plant grew,  
at the tail as high as a tree.  
On whom the poisonous plant grew  
as high as a spear, on the yellow one...<sup>509</sup>

According to Yt 19.40, *vanaiia.barəšna* “as high as a tree” and *ārštiiō.barəšna* “as high as a lance” describe *viš*. Hintze (1994a: 216-217) argues that they are two factors suggesting another meaning for *viš* rather than the conventional “poison” because the meaning “poison”

<sup>505</sup> For *arodaṭ* “grew” see Hintze (1994a: 215-216).

<sup>506</sup> For the New Persian translation see F2 (fol. 55v) and T6 (fol. 48r).

<sup>507</sup> See Kellens (1974: 366); Josephson (1997: 52); Pirart (2004: 69).

<sup>508</sup> For a comparison between Y 9.11 and Yt 19.40 see Y 9.11 commentary 7 *xšuaēpaiia vanaiia barəšna*.

<sup>509</sup> Edition and translation by Hintze (1994b: 23).

does not agree with something that appears “as high as a tree” and “as high as a lance” on the dragon’s back (*xšuuāēpaiia*). According to her, the meaning of the root noun Av. *viš-*<sup>510</sup> should be slightly different from that of the thematic stem which is well attested in other IE languages. Therefore, she interprets *viš-* in the context of Y 19.40, as “poisonous plant” which corresponds to the New Persian *bīš*<sup>511</sup> “a poisonous and lethal plant, similar to ginger, which grows in India”<sup>512</sup> and Balochi *gīš*<sup>513</sup> “oleander”.<sup>514</sup> According to Hintze (1994a: 217), it could also illustrate why Kərəsāspa mistakes the dragon’s back for a piece of land upon which he decides to cook food.

By contrast, based on Rau’s (1994: 37) suggestion, Sommer (2014: 384-396), translating *viš-* as “horn”, maintains that the Sanskrit thematic stem *viṣa-* originally meant poisonous plant *Acointum* and that such meaning was later generalised to denote poison. Likewise, he concludes that the Avestan thematic stem is expected to mean poison rather than its root noun counterpart. However, Kellens (1974: 366-368) had questioned the occurrence of the thematic *viṣa-* in the Avesta. According to him, the presence of the root noun *viš-* alone or as the final member of the compound in *kasuuiš-* “one who has a little bit poison, pustule (name of a disease)”<sup>515</sup> is certain. By contrast, when functioning as the first term of a compound, it is not clear whether *višō-* represents the thematic stem or the root noun in which *-ō* is by analogy with the compositional vowel *-ō*. For example, in the compound *višō.vaēpa-* “poison spraying”.<sup>516</sup> The thematic stem, however, is present in the hapax legomenon *višauuant-* “poisonous” corresponding to Skt. *viṣavant-*,<sup>517</sup> and in the mountain name *višauuā-*<sup>518</sup> “belonging to the poison”. Furthermore, Sommer (2014: 386) considers it unlikely that a plant grows on a dragon. Nonetheless, in the Šāhnāma (ed. Bertels, vol. I, 203, vv 1027-1030), the appearance of the tongue of Aždahā is compared with a black tree

<sup>510</sup> Pirart (2004: 69) edits *vīšəm* (nom. sg. ntr. of *vīša-* ntr. “poison”), but his edition is entirely speculative as the form *vīšəm* is absent in the manuscripts. For the root noun *viš-* and thematic *vīša-* see Y 9.11 commentary 6 *zard* “yellow”.

<sup>511</sup> بيش.

<sup>512</sup> “گیاهی است سمی و مهلك و شبیه به گیاه زنجبیل که در هندوستان می‌روید” (Ln. Vol. III. 4531).

<sup>513</sup> گیش.

<sup>514</sup> In addition to Balochi, in New Persian *gīš* means “oleander (خرزهره)” (Ln. Vol. XII. 17186-17187).

<sup>515</sup> For *kasuuiš-* see Kellens (1974: 367-368).

<sup>516</sup> The other compounds are *višāpa-*, *viš.gaiṇtaiia-*, *viš.ciṅra-* (Kellens 1974: 366). Sommer, does not discuss *višō.vaēna* and *višāpa-*. Furthermore, he proposes a different etymology for *viš.gaiṇtaiia-* (Sommer 2014: 388). The stem *viš.ciṅra-* is discussed in this commentary.

<sup>517</sup> Kellens (1974: 366) considers *višauuant-* as the only exception whose first element is derived from thematic stem *viša-*.

<sup>518</sup> The etymology of *višauuā-* has not been studied so far, but Sommer (2014: 386) derives it from *viša-* to which the suffix *-uua-* is attached.

in the account of Zāl and Rudāba where Sām, Zāl's father, writes a letter to the king Manučīhr:

مرا کرد پدرود هرکو شنید      که بر ازدها گرز خواهم کشید  
از سر تا به دمش چو کوه بلند      کشان موی بر زمین چون کمند  
زبانش بسان درختی سیاه      زفر باز کرده فتاده براه

*ma rā kard padrōd har kū šanīd/ka bar aždahā gurz xvāham kašīd*  
*az sar tā be dummaš čō kōh-ī buland/kašān mōy bar zamīn čōn kamand*  
*zabānaš basān-ī draxt-ī siyāh/zafar bāz karda fikanda be rāh*

Bade farewell to me whoever heard/that I would unsheathe the club against the dragon.  
(The height) of the head up to his tail (was) like (that of) a high mountain./(He) was  
drawing his hair on the earth like a lasso (swirling in the air).  
His tongue (was) like a black tree/having opened his mouth, hangs (the tongue) down  
onto the road.<sup>519</sup>

Likewise, the tongue of the dragon is compared with a tree in the Garšāsbnāma (ed. Yaghmai, 60, v 4) in the account of Garšāsbnāma and the dragon:

یکایک پراکنده بر دشت و غار      زبان چون درخت و دهان چون دهار  
*yakāyak parākanda bar dašt-u yār/zabān čōn draxt-u dahān čōn dahār*

(because of the dragon's poison) everybody was dispersed in the plain and cave./(His)  
tongue (was) like a tree and mouth (was) like a cave.<sup>520</sup>

Moreover, in the Garšāsbnāma (ed. Yaghmai, 53, v 63), hair of the head of the dragon is compared with a thicket (*bīša*):

سرش بیشه از موی و چون کوه تن      چو دودش دم و همچو دوزخ دهن  
*saraš bīša az mōy-u čōn kōh tan/čō dūdaš dam-u ham-čō duzax dahan*

his head (was like) a thicket of hair and his body (was) like a mountain/his breath (was)  
like smoke and his mouth (was) like hell.<sup>521</sup>

The evidence of the Šāhnāma and Garšāsbnāma casts doubt on Sommer's criticism of Hintze's suggestion as body parts of the dragon can be compared with trees or thickets.

As mentioned above, Sommer (2014: 387) translates Av *viš-* as "horn" which is based on the description of the horned dragon in the Pahlavi Rivāyat:

<sup>519</sup> My translation.

<sup>520</sup> My translation.

<sup>521</sup> My translation.

PRDd. 18f5. ... *az ī srūwar be ōzad ī asb-ōbār ī mard-ōbār*  
*u-š dandān and čand bāzūg ī man būd*  
*u-š gōš and čand čahārdah namad būd*  
*u-š aš and čand wardyūn-ē būd*  
*u-š srū and čand šāk pad bālāy būd ...*<sup>522</sup>

... (I) slew the horned dragon, the horse-eater, the man-eater.  
 And its tooth was as large as my arms  
 and its ear was as great as fourteen felts,  
 and its eye was as great as a chariot,  
 and its horn was as great as a branch in height...<sup>523</sup>

Sommer (2014: 387) compares *čand šāk pad bālāy*, describing the height of *srū*, with the height of *viš-*, described by *ārštiiō.barəza* “as high as a spear” in *yīm upairi viš araodaṭ ārštiiō.barəza*. However, it can only be concluded that the Avestan and Pahlavi sentences follow the same formulaic structure and there is no evidence that *srū...šāk pad bālāy* corresponds to *viš...ārštiiō.barəza* in Y 9.11 and Y 19.40 especially by considering the fact that the Pahlavi passage *u-š srū and čand šāk pad bālāy* explains *srūwar* (= Av. *sruuara-*), rather than Av. *viš*. Moreover, different from *čand šāk pad bālāy*, the height of Av. *viš* is described by *ārštiiō.barəza*, *asb-bālāy* and *muštyaṅguṣṭhatuṅgaṃ* in the Avestan, Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions, respectively, according to which none of them is related to horn or branch.<sup>524</sup> Furthermore, according to Y 19.40, *viš* grows at the tail (*xšuuāēpaiia*) of the horned dragon, but Sommer, translating *viš* as “horn”, does not give any evidence of a dragon whose horn grows at its tail. In addition, in the New Persian book of Sad-dar Nasr, a similar passage to that of the Pahlavi Rivāyat exists, in which *haštād arš* “eighty ells” replaces *šāk pad bālāy* in Pahlavi Rivāyat:

پس روان گرشاسب ایزد تعالی را نماز برد و گفت  
 ای دادار وه افزونی مرا بهشت ارزانی کن  
 که اندر جهان ازدهای را بکشتم  
 که هر مردی و چهارپایی که دیدی فرو بردی  
 و بدم خویشتن میکشیدی  
 و هر دندان که در دهان وی بود چو بازوی من بود  
 هر چشمی چندان بود که گردونی  
 و هر سروی چندان بود که هشتاد ارش بود...

*pas ruvān-ī garšāsb īzad ta ‘ālā rā namāz burd-u guft*  
*ay dādār-ī weh-ī afzunī ma-rā bihišt arzānī kun*  
*ka andar jahān aždahāy rā be kuštam*  
*kē har mard-ē va čahār-pāy-ē ka dīdē frō burdē*

<sup>522</sup> Edition by Williams (1990: Vol. I. 105).

<sup>523</sup> The translation is after Williams (1990: Vol. II. 40).

<sup>524</sup> See Y 9.11 commentary 5 *asb-bālāy*.

*u be dum-ī xvēštan mē-kešīdē*  
*u har dandān ka dar dahān-ī vay būd čōn bāzūy-ī man būd*  
*har čašm-ē čandān būd ka gardun-ē*  
*u har srūy čandān būd ka haštād arš būd...*

Then, the soul of Garshāsb paid homage to the almighty Venerable and said:  
 “O the bountiful good creator! Bestow heaven upon me  
 because in the world, I slew the dragon  
 who used to devour each man and quadruped whom he saw  
 and pulled by its tail.  
 And each tooth which was in his mouth was like my arm,  
 (and) each eye was as like as a chariot,  
 and each horn was like the height of eighty ells” ...<sup>525</sup>

The comparison between Phl. *šāk pad bālāy* and NP. *haštād arš* shows that they are only used as units of measurement rather than words qualifying the substance of *srū*.

Assuming “horn” as the meaning of Av. *viš-*, Sommer (2014: 388-389) suggests that the Av. *viš-* derives from the IE root *\*ueḡs-* “to sprout, to grow”. Sommer also considers Av. *viš.ciθra-*, attested in Vd. 20.3, as a medicine made of horn in contrast to Bartholomae’s translation (*AirWb.* 1473) as “medicine (of toxic origin)”:

Vd. 20.3 *viš.ciθrām dim aiiasta*  
*āiiapta xšaθra vairiia*  
*paitištātāe yaskahe*  
*paitištātāe mahrkahe...*

He asked him the remedy (Sommer: a medicine made from horn),  
 the boons through Xšaθra-Vairiia,  
 to withstand illness  
 to withstand death...<sup>526</sup>

To corroborate his interpretation, Sommer compares Av. *viš.ciθra-* with Ved. *viṣāṇā-* “horn” attested in the Atharvaveda:

AVŚ 3.7.1 *hariṇásya raghuśyádó `dhi śīrśāṇi bheṣajám*  
*sá kṣetriyám viṣāṇayā viśúcīnam anīnaśat*<sup>527</sup>

On the head of the swift-running gazelle is a remedy;  
 he by his horn hath made the Kṣetriya (disease) disappear, dispersing.<sup>528</sup>

<sup>525</sup> My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1909: 86.6).

<sup>526</sup> My translation from German. See Hintze (2000: 332).

<sup>527</sup> Edition by Roth & Whitney (1855: 33).

<sup>528</sup> Translation by Whitney (1905: III, 94).

In the commentary to the Vedic verse, Whitney (1905: III, 94) suggests that *viṣāṇā-* consists of the verb *sā* “to fasten” which in composition with the prefix *vi-* means “to unfasten”. Whitney’s analysis is in agreement with the *padapāṭha*’s segmentation of the word as *vi-sāṇā-*. Sommer (2014: 392-393) accepts Whitney’s etymology only with regard to the neuter stem *viṣāṇa-* attested in the *Rigveda*. By contrast, he mentions that the verb *vi-sā* “unfasten” is unsuitable to describe the horn of *hariṇa-* “gazelle or antelope” in AVŚ 3.7.1. The reason is that these animals do not shed their horns. As mentioned above, he derives Av. *viš-* and Ved. *viṣāṇā-* “horn” from the IE root *\*<sup>l</sup>ueis-*. Regarding the latter, he suggests that it is extended by the individualising suffix *\*-en/-on-*, forming the stem *\*<sup>l</sup>uis-on* “horn”, from which both the thematic stem and collective noun *\*<sup>l</sup>uis-on-eh<sub>2</sub>* “horned” developed (Sommer 2014: 393). However, Sommer (2014: 393, fn. 43) also notes that in both forms the *o-* ablaut grade of the suffix is unexpected. Although as a solution, he suggests that the *o-* grade ablaut is by analogy, he does not adduce parallels that might have provided a model for such an analogy. Moreover, according to the Indo-Iranian word formation rules, relating Av. *viš-* to a verbal root is unlikely because such root nouns are mainly used as *nomen agentis* (*AiGr.* II 2 4, §3) or denote the abstract meaning (*AiGr.* II 2 11, §6). By contrast, root nouns without verbal basis are used as the names of the body parts/organs or animals (*AiGr.* II 2 58, §16b).

As far as the translation of Av. *viš-* is concerned, the evidence gives weight to Hintze’s interpretation. However, no dragon is described with a plant above its tail whereas the tongue and hair of *Aždahā* are compared with plants and thickets as discussed above. Therefore, it seems that linguistic analysis of the word on its own is inadequate for a decisive conclusion. As stated above, according to Yt 19.40, *viš* grows at the tail (*xšuuāēpaiia*) of the horned dragon (Hintze 1994a: 23). While the horned dragon has no counterpart in Indian mythology (Skjærvø 1989a: 193),<sup>529</sup> in Akkadian art, *Ti’āmat*, the creator of Akkadian monsters, also appears as a composite horned dragon with a scale-covered body like a serpent and a wriggling tale ending in the scorpion-like sting (Heidel 1951: 87). Furthermore, the following similarities increase the possibility of the Mesopotamian influence on the stories of *Kərəsāspa*/*Kirsāsp*.<sup>530</sup> According to the text of the Pahlavi

<sup>529</sup> For a study on the similarities between the Iranian myths and their Mesopotamian counterparts see Bahar 1996 (1375).

<sup>530</sup> *Kərəsāspa*’s corresponding name (Skt. *krśāśva-*) is of no importance in the Indian mythology compared to its Iranian counterpart. For example, it occurs with his family members in ŚB 6.6.20 *krśāśvo ’rciṣi bhāryāyām dhūmaketuṃ ajījanat* (Prabhupāda 1975: 12) “*Kṛśāśva* in (his) wife, namely *Arciṣi* gave birth to *Dhūmaketu*” (my translation). Moreover, Skt. *krśāśva-*, appears in *Mahābhārata* 2.328, according to which he presides among heroes in the world of *Yama* after death. In another example, according to *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.21-27, *Rāma*



Rivāyat, Kirsāsp, before killing the sea dragon Gandarw, was dragged into the sea by the monster.<sup>531</sup> In the Akkadian account of creation (Enuma-Elish), Ti'āmat, the primeval-water ocean, is slain by Marduk. Moreover, according to the Pahlavi Rivāyat, Kirsāsp subdues Wind who was deceived by Dēws:

PRDd. 18f20. *kirsāsp guft kū  
ohrmazd wahišt-im ud garōdmān be dah  
ka-m wād rēšīd u-m stō kard  
dēwān wād be frēft  
u-šān be ō wād guft  
kū az harw dām-dahišn tō pādyāwandtar...*<sup>532</sup>

Kirsāsp said:

“O Ohrmazd, grant me Paradise and Garōdmān,  
for I exhausted and wounded the wind.  
The demons deceived the wind,  
and they said to the wind:  
Of all creation, you are the most powerful”...<sup>533</sup>

In the Akkadian story of creation (Enuma-Elish)<sup>534</sup>, Ti'āmāt creates the storm demon to fight the gods:

Enuma-Elish Tablet 1.

140 She set up the viper, the dragon and the *lahmānu*,  
141 the great lion, the man dog and the scorpion man,  
142 driving storm demons, the dragonfly and the bis[on].<sup>535</sup>

In Achaemenian art, a horned griffin with a scorpion tail also fights a hero.<sup>536</sup> Therefore, in the both Mesopotamian and Achaemenian belief, the main monsters have a scorpion-like tail ending in a sting. The Pahlavi commentary of Y 9.11 also confirms that the poison excretes from the tail of the horned dragon as the direction of the poison flow is from dragon's tail to his head:

*hād ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud*

---

is equipped with the armaments of *kršāšva*- (Molé 1960: 142-145).

<sup>531</sup> See Williams (1990: Vol II. 40).

<sup>532</sup> Edition by Williams (1990: Vol. I, 107). Slightly differently, Williams edits *kersāsp* rather than *kirsāsp*. For a discussion on the existence of the phoneme /e/ in Pahlavi see Y 9.10 commentary 5 *urwāxš ud kirsāsp*.

<sup>533</sup> Translation by Williams (1990: Vol. II. 41).

<sup>534</sup> Enuma-Elish “when above” is the opening words of the account of creation (Heidel 1951: 1).

<sup>535</sup> Translation by Heidel (1951: 23-24).

<sup>536</sup> For the figure see Hinnells (1985: 105).

*xšuuāēpaiia vanaiia barāšna*<sup>537</sup>  
*ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast ...*

Know this: That one which went up to its head,  
 over the tail, nose (and) top,  
 that means: The other one fell down through the mouth.

Moreover, according to the *Garšāsb-nāma* (ed. Yaghmai, 58, v 33) the tail of the dragon is bent and segmented which is similar to that of the scorpion and griffin's tail at Persepolis:

گره در گره خم دم تا به پشت همه سرش چون خار موی درشت  
*grih dar grih xam dum tā be pušt/hama sar-š čōn xār mōy-ī durušt*

His tail was curve (and) segmented until the back./All his head was like a thick thorn (like) hair.<sup>538</sup>

In addition, the verse is preceded by another one in which دم can be read either as *dam* “breath” or *dum* “tail”:

ز تف دهانش دل خاره موم ز زهر دمش باد گیتی سموم  
*zi taff-ī dahānaš dil-ī xāra mum/zi zahr-ī dam (dum)-aš bād-ī gētīy somum*

Because of the heat of his mouth, the heart of granite (became soft) like a wax/because of the poison of his mouth (tail) the air of the world was poisoned.<sup>539</sup>

As far as the reading of دم is concerned, the picture of the illustrated manuscript S147,<sup>540</sup> describing the fight of *Garšāsb* and *Aždahā* supports the reading *dum* “tail” as *Aždahā*'s tail ends in the sting:

<sup>537</sup> For the meaning see Y 9.11 commentary 7 *xšuuāēpaiia vanaiia barāšna*.

<sup>538</sup> My translation.

<sup>539</sup> My translation.

<sup>540</sup> The *Šāhnāma* manuscript is kept at the First Dastur Meherjirana Library. The folios are numerated in Gujarati numerals and the picture appears in fol 29r. It renders an arrangement of stories according to which the stories of *Garšāsb* (*Garšāsb-nāma*), *Sām* (*Sām-nāma*) and *Farāmarz* (*Farāmarz-nāma*) are included in the *Šāhnāma* beside the account of the *Šāhnāma*'s most venerated hero, *Rustam*. A similar manuscript, Or. 2926, is also kept at the British Library which can show a tradition of the transmission of the *Šāhnāma* according to which together with the story of *Rustam*, the accounts of other heroes, whose names and actions are shadowed by *Rustam*, are incorporated in the *Šāhnāma*. For a list of the *Šāhnāma* manuscripts and other epics see van Zutphen (2014: Appendix I).

Figure 39. The Šāhnāma manuscript S147 (fol. 29r).



It should be noted that Aždahā is painted carefully to reflect the description of its appearance in details as attested in the text. For example, according to the Garšāsbnāma (ed. Yaghmai 58, v 29-30), dragon's mouth was open like a cave. In his mouth and breath, there were fire and smoke. In addition, according to the picture, the dragon twines his tail around the foot of Garšāsb probably to bite him. However, it is known from the Garšāsbnāma (ed. Yaghmai, 58, v 25) that his bite was ineffective because Garšāsb had consumed opium:

ز تریاک لختی ز بیم گزند      بخورد و گره کرد بر زین کمند  
*zi taryāk laxt-ē zi bīm-ī gazand/be xward-u grih kard bar zēn kamand*<sup>541</sup>

Due to the fear of injury, (Garshāsb) a piece of opium/ate and tied (his) lasso on the saddle

In conclusion, according to the evidence, the meaning “poisonous sting” is suggested for *viš-* which grows at the tail of the dragon. By contrast, in the Pahlavi version, it is possible to accommodate the meaning of *wiš* as “poison” where the Avestan verb *araodaṭ* is rendered by *rānēnīd ēstād* “had been ejected” in *kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād asb-bālāy ān ī zard* “upon whom, the yellow one, poison had been ejected as high as a horse.” As mentioned above, the translation is followed by the commentary *ēd ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud ... ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast* according to which *wiš* is considered as a liquid substance

<sup>541</sup> For the transcription of the New Persian words see “Notes on the present edition”.

which is ejected and flows upon the body of the horned dragon and later, falls down from the head.

**5) Line 5 Y 9.11bP** *asb-bālāy* “as high as a horse”

The Pahlavi compound *asb-bālāy* “as high as a horse” renders the Avestan hapax legomenon *ārštiiō.barəzan-* “as high as a lance”. While *bālāy* is a cognate of Av. *barəzan-* the first element of the compound is an entirely different word. Davar (1904: 38-39, fn. 35<sup>1</sup>) positing that *asb* is the corrupt form of *\*arišnīg* “arm, arm’s length”, mentions:

‘But being badly written in the original manuscript and part of the word being moth-eaten, a not very intelligent copyist deciphered it to the common word *asp*.’

However, his entirely speculative suggestion is unlikely because it is very difficult to justify the misreading of *arišnīg* (𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭭) as *asp* (𐭠𐭣 or 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩). Translating *ārštiiā-* as “thumb”, Justi (1864: 53) takes it as the *-ya* derivative of *aršti-* “lance”. As mentioned by Bartholomae (1886: 274), Justi’s translation is based on *muṣṭyaṅguṣṭhatuṅgaṃ*, the Sanskrit translation of the word. By contrast, although *-ya* derivative with the initial vowel *Vṛddhi* strengthening usually makes adjectives, Bartholomae (1886: 274) associates *ārštiiō°* with the neuter stem *ārštiiā-* “lance (as a unit of measurement)”. For the Pahlavi translation, he mentions that *asb-bālāy* has an Indian parallel in which cow is used as a unit of measurement. He adds that people in his time used sticks of any length for measurement and in Old Iranian times, people probably used spears of any size. Therefore, he concludes that there is no difference between the units of measurement attested in the Avestan, Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions. However, the Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions, at least, show that the translators had no problem with translating *ad sensum* here which is in contrast to the usual Pahlavi *ad verbum* translation technique of the Avesta. For example, Av. *ārštiiō.barəza* could have been translated by its Pahlavi semantic equivalent *nēzag-bālāy* which is attested in Pahlavi:

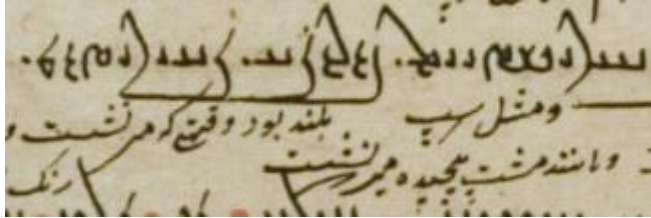
ŠNŠ. 2.10. *ka āb nēzag-bālāy andar ēstēd pas-īz bē nihēd be awarēd*

...even if water stands as high as a lance, then (the corpse bearer) should also put (the corpse in the *daxmag*) and come (back).<sup>542</sup>

<sup>542</sup> My translation from New Persian. See Mazdapour 1990 (1369): 10-11).

As regards the New Persian translation, *ārštīiō* and *brəza* are translated by the interlinear *asp ī kiršāsp* (اسب کرشاسپ) “Kiršāsp’s horse” and *buland* (بلند) “high”, respectively, in YIrP F2 (fol. 55v line 10). By contrast, in YIrP T6 (fol. 48r line 2), the following interlinear New Persian gloss to *ārštīiō.barəza* appears:

Figure 40. YIrP T6 (fol. 48r line 2).

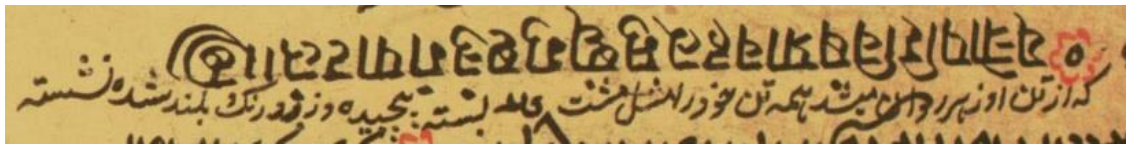


*u mesl ī asp buland bud-u vaqti ka mē-nišast-u mānand ī mušt ī pēčīda mē-nišast*

“and (The poison) was like a horse high and when (the horned dragon) used to sit, he was sitting like a clenched fist”.<sup>543</sup>

The New Persian version of T6 shows that the scribe combined the Pahlavi and Sanskrit interpretations in his gloss to *ārštīiō.barəza*. For Phl. *asb-bālāy*, it is rendered in F2 (fol. 55v line 11) by the interlinear NP *asp-buland* (اسب بلند) “as high as a horse”. By contrast, T6 (fol. 48r line 3) writes (مانند اسب بلند بود) *mānand ī asp buland būd* “it was like a horse high”. As regards the Sanskrit version, *yatropari viṣaṃ purāvahat muṣṭyaṅguṣṭhatuṅgaṃ pāṭlaṃ* “on whom the pale-red poison flowed as high as a clenched thumb”<sup>544</sup> in YSkt KM7 (fol. 53v line 8) is explained by the following interlinear New Persian gloss:

Figure 41. YSkt KM7 (fol. 53v line 8).



*...hama-yī tan ī xvad rā mesl ī mušt pēčīda-u zard rang buland šuda nišasta*

(The horned dragon) having clenched all his body like a yellow fist, stood (and) sat”.<sup>545</sup>

Regarding the declension of Av. *ārštīiō.barəza*, it is debated among scholars. Pirart (2004: 267) postulates that the compound represents nom. sg. *\*ārāštīiō.barəzō* of ntr.

<sup>543</sup> My translation.

<sup>544</sup> Edition and translation by Unvala (1924: 20 and 20 fn. 35°).

<sup>545</sup> My translation.

*ārštiiō.barəzah-*. However, his interpretation is not supported by the reading of any manuscript. Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 338) interprets *°barəza* as the nom. sg. of *barəzan-* ntr. but he also considers the possibility that it can be the instr. sg. of the root noun *barəz-* (*AirWb.* 338 fn. 1). Kellens (1974: 352-354) opts for the instr. sg. interpretation as does Hintze (1994a: 217) who adds that the inst. case is confirmed by the syntactic parallelism with the following instr. *vanaiia.barəšna*.<sup>546</sup>

#### 6) Line 5 Y 9.11bP *zard* “yellow”

In the first five lines of Y 9.11, the Avestan adj. *zairita-* “yellow” and its Pahlavi translation *zard* occur twice as follows:

Y 9.11Av *yō janaṭ aṣīm sruuarəm*  
*yim aspō.garəm narə.garəm*  
*yim višauuantəm zairitəm*  
*yim upairi viš araodaṭ*  
*ārštiiō.barəza zairitəm*

Y 9.11Phl *kē-š zad az ī srūwar*  
*ī asb-ōbār mard-ōbār*  
*ī wiš-ōmand zard*  
*kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād*  
*asb-bālāy ān ī zard*

The first Av. *zairitəm* obviously refers back to Av. *aṣīm sruuarəm* as it is the last in a series of adjectives describing “the horned dragon”. By contrast, the second *zairitəm* is ambiguous in so far as it could be interpreted either as the acc. sg. m., referring to the relative pronoun *yim* which in turn refers back to *aṣīm sruuarəm* or as the nom. sg. ntr., describing the colour of the Av. *viš*. The latter interpretation is that of Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1472) and Kellens (1974: 366). It entails that the gender of the root noun *viš-* is neuter. However, Hintze (1994a: 215) argues that the gender of the archaic root noun *viš-*<sup>547</sup>, which is not found outside Avestan, is more likely to be m. rather than neuter. Hintze’s suggestion agrees with the Indo-Iranian historical grammar rule according to which the gender of nonverbal root nouns<sup>548</sup> from which *a-* stems develop is usually masculine (*AiGr.* II 2, 59, §16d). Therefore, the second *zairitəm* is associated with *aṣīm sruuarəm* in the present edition.

<sup>546</sup> For *vanaiia.barəšna* see Y 9.11 commentary 7 *xšuaēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna*.

<sup>547</sup> For the archaism of Av. *viš-* see Kellens (1974: 366). Except Av. *viš-*, in other IE languages the thematic equivalents occur (Kellens 1974: 366); (Hintze 1994a: 215).

<sup>548</sup> *Wurzelnomina ohne verbale Grundlage* “root nouns without verbal basis” are root nouns in which the existence of a verbal root is unproven (*AiGr.* II. 2, 57, §16), like *viš-* (*AiGr.* II. 2, 59, §16d).

As far as the Pahlavi version is concerned, it remains ambiguous whether *zard* describes the colour of the “poison” or “the horned dragon” as, in Pahlavi, nouns are neither inflected nor do they have the grammatical gender. However, in agreement with the Avestan original, an association of *zard* in the Pahlavi version with *az ī srūwar* seems preferable.

**7) Line 7 Y 9.11bP** *xšuaēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna* “over the tail, nose (and) top”

The Avestan text of Y 9.11 is parallel to that of Yt. 19.40 with minor variations as illustrated in the following table:

Yt 19.40	Y 9.11
<i>yō janaṭ ažiṃ sruuarəṃ</i> <i>yim aspō.garəṃ nərə.garəṃ</i> <i>yim višauuaṇtəṃ zairitəṃ</i>	(Y 9.11aA) <i>yō janaṭ ažiṃ sruuarəṃ</i> <i>yim aspō.garəṃ nərə.garəṃ</i> <i>yim višauuaṇtəṃ zairitəṃ</i>
<i>yim upairi viš araodaṭ</i> <b><i>xšuaēpaiia vanaiia.barəšna</i></b> <b>(or <i>xšuaēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna</i>)</b>	Ø
<i>yim upairi viš araodaṭ</i> <i>ārštiiō.barəza zairitəṃ</i>	(Y 9.11bA) <i>yim upairi viš araodaṭ</i> <i>ārštiiō.barəza zairitəṃ</i> (Y 9.11bP) <i>kē-š abar wiš rānēnīd ēstād</i> <i>asb-bālāy ān ī zard</i> <i>[hād ēd ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud</i> <b><i>xšuaēpaiia vanaiia.barəšna</i></b> <b>(or <i>xšuaēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna</i>)</b> <i>ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast</i> <i>kū kē ēdōn gōwēd</i> <i>hād har dō ēk</i> <i>ud any and bālāy ul šud</i> <i>ud any and drahnāy be ōbast</i> <i>ī ast kē ēdōn gōwēd</i> <i>hād kabārīh abar pušt hušk ēstād]</i>
<i>yim upairi kərəsāspō</i> <i>aiiaṇha pitum pacata</i> <i>ā rapiθβinəm zruuānəm</i>	(Y 9.11cA) <i>yim upairi kərəsāspō</i> <i>aiiaṇha pitum pacata</i> (Y 9.11dA) <i>ā rapiθβinəm zruuānəm</i>

According to the table, Yt. 19.40 has three cola commencing with *yim upairi* while Y 9.11 has two. In the Avestan text of the Hōm Yašt, the second and the third cola only occur. However, the second line of the first colon of Yt 19.40 is quoted in the Pahlavi version whereas its first line *yim upairi viš araodaṭ* is absent.

Av. *xšuaēpaiia* is considered as loc. sg. of *xšuaēpā*- “tail” (AirWb. 560). By contrast, as far as the interpretation of *vainaii/vaēnaiia* and *barəšna* is concerned, their meaning and

case are debated. In the Yašt and Xorda Avesta manuscripts F1, E1, Pt1, L18 and H3, the word appears as *vanaiia* in contrast to *vainti*, *vanaiti*, and *vaniiati* in J18, J10 and D, respectively (Hintze 1994a: 213).<sup>549</sup> Regarding the Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts, in YIrP Pt4 and T55b, *vanaiiata* is written whereas in YIrP Mf4, *vanaiia* is attested. By contrast, in YIrP G14-T6 and F2, *vainiti* and *vainaiti* occur, respectively. As regards YIndPs, while *vaina* is only legible in J2, *vaēnaiia* appears in K5 and M1. Regarding *barəšna*, Yt manuscripts and YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b write *barəšna*. Slightly differently, *barəšna* is attested in K5 and M1. By contrast, F2 and J2 write *barəšnu* and *barənuš*, respectively.

Editing *xšuuāēpaiia* (inst.sg.) *vanaiti* (3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres ind.) *barəšnuš* (nom. sg.), Burnouf (1854: 272-273) translates it as “the angry hits (him) with a strike”. However, although *vanaiti* and *barəšnuš* are found in the manuscripts, no copy attests the sequence *xšuuāēpaiia vanaiti barəšnuš*. Furthermore, his translation does not agree with the readings of the majority of copies preserving a better text i.e. Yt F1, YIrP Mf4 writing *vanaiia* and Yt F1, YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14 providing *barəšna*.<sup>550</sup> Geldner (1886-1896: II, 248) edits *vaēnaiia* which is accepted by Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1325). Interpreting *vaēnaiia* as the loc. sg. of *vaēnā*- “nose”, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 1325) considers *barəšna* as the adverbial instrumental of the stem *barəzan*- meaning “on top”. As a result, *xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna* was translated as “over the back, nose, top” by him (*AirWb.* 560). Similarly, Mills (1900: 525), Davar (1904: 19), Unvala (1924: 20), Bailey (1933: 83-84) and Dhabhar (1949: 61) read *vaēnaiia*. Differently, Hintze (1994: 217), takes it as the first element of the compound *vanaiia.barəšna*. Reading *vanaiia*°, Hintze (1994a: 217) interprets it as the *jo*- derivative of *vanā*- f. “tree”. Following Bartholomae’s suggestion (*AirWb.* 950), she considers the second element *barəšna* as the inst. sg. of *barəzan*-. As a result, suggesting *vanaiia.barəšna*, she translates it as “so hoch wie ein Baum”.<sup>551</sup>

As regards the Pahlavi version, the Avestan phrase is preceded and followed by sentences governed by the verbs *ul šud* “went up” and *be ōbast* “fell down” in the following context:

*hād ēd ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud*  
*xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barəšna*



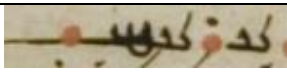
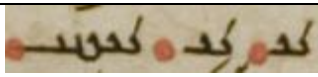
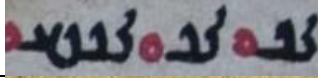
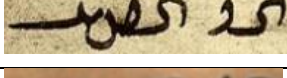

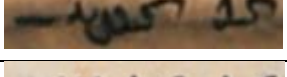
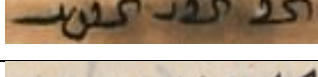
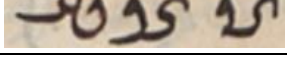
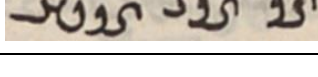
<sup>549</sup> For the readings of the Yašt and Xorda Avesta manuscripts see Hintze (1994a: 213). For a description of the Yašt and Xorda Avesta manuscripts see Hintze (1994a: 54-56).

<sup>550</sup> Unlike the corrected Pahlavi version of the Iranian manuscripts, the quality of their original Avestan surpasses that of their Indian counterparts. The base text YIndP K5 writes *vaēnaiia* and *barəšna*.

<sup>551</sup> “as high as a tree.”





F2 (fol. 55v line 12)		F2 (fol. 55v line 13)	
T6 (fol. 48r line 3)		T6 (fol. 48r line 5)	
T55b (fol. 74v line 1)	-	T55b (fol. 74r line 4)	
J2 (fol. 85v line 15)		J2 (fol. 86r line 2)	
K5 (fol. 64r line 7)		K5 (fol. 64r line 8)	
M1 (fol. 165v line 1)		M1 (fol. 165v line 4)	

Dhabhar (1949: 61) edits in agreement with J2. Mills (1900: 525) and Davar (1904: 19) also read it as *ān ī-š ... ān ī-š*. By contrast, Bailey (1933: 83-84) edits *any ... any* according to the well attested formula in Pahlavi corresponding to Av. *aniiō ... aniiō* or OP. *anyā ... anyā*:

*hād ēn any pad kamāl ul šūd*  
*xšuuāēpaiia vaēnaiia barāšna*  
*ān any pad zafar be ōbast*

that is, this one ascended at the head  
over tail and snout and neck  
the other fell down at the jaw<sup>553</sup>

However, unlike Bailey's reading, the sequence of **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** as a combination denoting *any*, does not occur in manuscripts according to the list of *any* variant readings provided by Salemann (*GIrPh* I/1, 294).<sup>554</sup> While the expected orthographies for *any* are **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** (ZK-*ȳ*) and **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** (ZK-*ȳ*), the most possible reading for the Pahlavi **𐭥𐭥** is *š* according to which **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** would be ZY-*š* (*ī-š*). The preceding **𐭥𐭥** must also be *ān*. Furthermore, with the exception of J2, two ZKs (**𐭥𐭥**) are juxtaposed in ZK ZK *ī-š pad zafar be ōbast*. In K5 and M1, the second ZK is also followed by **𐭥** which in combination with ZK forms ZK-*ȳ* (*any*). Therefore, three different readings are attested in the manuscripts as follows:

YIrPs *ān ān ī-š pad zafar be ōbast*  
YIndP J2 *ān ī-š pad zafar be ōbast*  
YIndP K5, M1 *ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast*

<sup>553</sup> The text is after Bailey (1933: 83-84).

<sup>554</sup> Salemann transliterates the variant readings in the Hebrew script. By contrast, the different spellings of *any* were provided in the original Pahlavi script by Bogdanov (1930: 74-75) in his English translation of Salemann's *Mittelpersisch*.

The sentence also shares the same formulaic structure with *hād ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud*. Therefore, it seems that *ān* introducing a new commentary, corresponds to *hād ēd* as shown in the following table:

Opening word		Verb
<i>hād ēd</i>	<i>ān ī-š pad kamāl</i>	<i>ul šud</i>
<i>ān ān</i> (YIrPs) vs. <i>ān</i> (YIndPs)	<i>any</i> (K5) <i>ī-š pad zafar</i>	<i>be ōbast</i>

As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, in agreement with the base text K5, *ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast* is employed in the present edition. Moreover, the following text occurs after the Pahlavi *hād ēd ān ī-š pad kamāl ul šud ... ān any ī-š pad zafar be ōbast*:

*kū kē ēdōn gōwēd*  
*hād har dō ēk*  
*ud ZK/ZK-ȳ and bālāy ul šud*  
*ud ZK/ZK-ȳ and drahnāy bē ōbast*

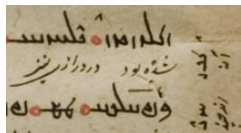
As regards *ud ZK/ZK-ȳ and bālāy ul šud*, while YIrPs write *ZK*, it appears as *ZK-ȳ* in their Indian counterparts. By contrast, the distribution of *ZK/ZK-ȳ* in *ud ZK/ZK-ȳ and drahnāy be ōbast* is as follows:

<i>ZK</i>	<i>ZK-ȳ</i>
YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T55b; YIndP J2	YIrP T6 (deest. <i>ZK-ȳ</i> in marg.) <sup>555</sup> ; YIndP K5, M1

Although both readings *ān* and *any* are semantically possible, in agreement with the base text K5, *any ... any* is employed in the present edition. As a result, the Pahlavi text is translated as follows:

there is one who says thus,  
‘Yes, both are the same  
and as high as the one went up  
and to the same length, the other one fell.’

<sup>555</sup> T6 (fol. 48r):



**9) Line 14 Y 9.11bP** *kabārīh abar pušt hušk ēstād* “anything made of the earthen pot remained dry over the back”

The Pahlavi translators compared the hotness of dragon’s *wiṣ* “poison” with the dried *kabārīh*. In the Sanskrit version, the translation of *kabārīh* is missing (Unvala 1924: 20). Reading *kp’lyh* as *kifr*, Mills (1903c: 322 and 322 fn. 2) relates it to *kaf* “froth”. However, it is evident that his interpretation is erroneous because *kaf* is spelled as *kp* in Pahlavi.<sup>556</sup> Davar (1904: 40 and 40, fn. 35<sup>11</sup>) translates *kabārīh* “sweat, exudation” which is based on his interpretation of the corresponding Persian word *kavār* “a thick mist” and *kavārūn* “scab on the skin”. However, according to the *Ln*. Vol. XI. 15982, *kabāra* (کیاره) and *kavār* (کوار), the corresponding forms of the Pahlavi word in New Persian, mean “fruit basket (سبد میوه), earthen pot (کاسه سفالین)”.

Editing *kabārag*, Bailey (1933: 83) translates the word as “earthen pot”. The Pahlavi word *kabārag* is also found in Vd 9.11 which is translated as “earthen pot” by Bailey (1933: 82):

Vd 9.11 *kadār-iz-ē ān ī saxt zamīg kabārag-ē ud tis-ē*  
or anything of hard earth, an earthen pot or like.

However, while the form *kabārīh* appears in all of the collated manuscripts with the exception of T55b writing *kp’l’* (*kabāra*?), Bailey’s corrected form is absent in the manuscripts. Considering the form *kabārīh*, it can be interpreted as an abstract form of the word *kabār* corresponding to the New Persian *kavār* (کوار). The abstract forms denote several meanings one of which is the collective sense (Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 177, §348). Therefore, interpreting *kabārīh* as a collective noun, it can mean “anything made of clay” which also suits the context.

**10) Line 16 Y 9.11Pc** *āhanēn [dēg]* “iron cauldron”

Av. *aiia-* is translated by *āhanēn [dēg]* in the Pahlavi version which adds *dēg* “cauldron” to *āhanēn*. The reason is that the Avestan word *aiia-* can mean both “metal”

<sup>556</sup> For the spelling see MacKenzie (1971: 48).

and “cauldron” (*AirWb.* 159) while in the Pahlavi language, *āhanēn* as an adjective, only means “iron, of iron”.<sup>557</sup>

**11) Line 17-19 Y 9.11dP** *ān tā ō rāpīhwīn zamān taft mar [kū-š garm būd] xwīst [kū dō pā būd]* “at the noon watch, the scoundrel became hot [that means: He was warm], sweated, [that he was on two feet]

Av. *yīm upairi kərəsāspō aīiaṇha pitūm pacata* (Section c of Y 9.11 in the present edition) merges with *ā rāpīθβīnəm zruuānəm tafasatca hō mairiīō xʷīsatca* (section d) in the manuscripts G14 and T6 whilst in the other collated manuscripts, they are separated by the Pahlavi translation of *yīm upairi kərəsāspō aīiaṇha pitūm pacata*:

YIrP Pt4, Mf4, F2, T55b; YIndP J2, K5, M1	YIrP G14, T6
<p>(Y 9.11cAv) <i>yīm upairi kərəsāspō aīiaṇha pitūm pacata</i></p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>(Y 9.11cPhl) <i>kē pad ōy abar kirsāsp ā-š pad ān āhanēn [dēg] pid poxt</i></p> <p>(Y 9.11dAv) <i>ā rāpīθβīnəm zruuānəm tafasatca hō mairiīō xʷīsatca</i></p> <p>(Y 9.11dPhl) <i>ān tā ō rāpīhwīn zamān taft mar [kū-š garm būd] xwīst [kū dō pā būd]</i></p>	<p>(Y 9.11cAv) <i>yīm upairi kərəsāspō aīiaṇha pitūm pacata</i></p> <p><b><i>ā rāpīθβīnəm zruuānəm tafasatca hō mairiīō xʷīsatca</i></b></p> <p>(Y 9.11cPhl) <i>kē pad ōy abar kirsāsp ā-š pad ān ī āhanēn [dēg] pid poxt-ān tā ō rāpīhwīn zamān taft mar [kū-š garm būd] xwāst [kū dō pā būd]</i><sup>558</sup></p>

The unique order in G14 and its descendant T6 should be associated with scribal correction. The reason is that the order of their related copies of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line<sup>559</sup> agrees with that of the old YIndP J2, K5. In addition, in the manuscripts Pt4 and T55b appears the marginal *az ān gyāg be gurēxt* “he fled from that place” which is associated with *kū dō pā būd* by the sign +:

<sup>557</sup> See MacKenize (1971: 6); Nyberg (1974: 32).

<sup>558</sup> The Avestan text is based on Geldner’s edition. For the minor variant readings in G14 and T6 see the text-critical apparatus and G14 (fol. 56v line 9-11) and T6 (fol. 48r line 8-10).

<sup>559</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

Figure 43. YIrP Pt4 (fol. 58r line 1).

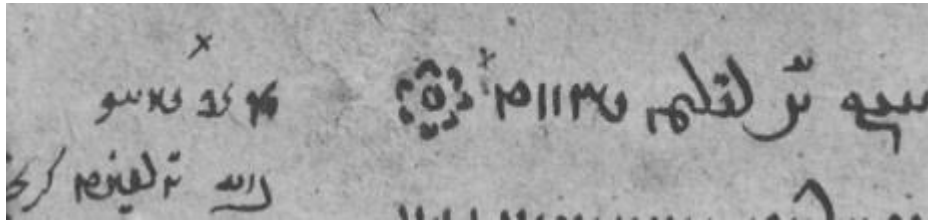
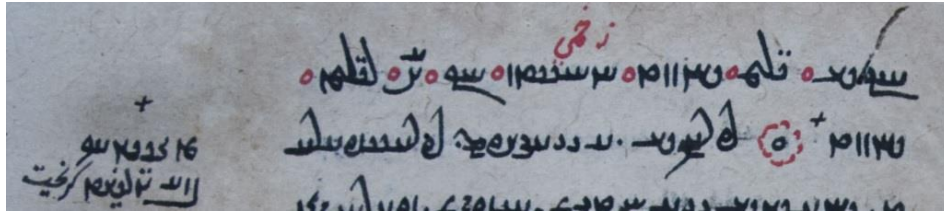


Figure 44. YIrP T55b (fol. 75r line 1-2).

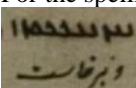


As for the editorial judgement, the sentence *az ān gyāg be gurēxt* disagrees with the context of Y 9.11 according to which the scoundrel did not flee but he knocked the iron pad forward. Moreover, the commentary is very late because the verb *gurēxt*, corresponding to the Pahlavi *wirēxt*, is a New Persian loanword. Therefore, it is not employed in the present edition.

The verb *xwist* in *ān tā ō rapihwin zamān taft mar [kū-š garm būd] xwist* is attested as *xwāst* in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, T6, T55b.<sup>560</sup> The New Persian interlinear translation *bar xāst* “(he) stood up” in T6 (fol. 48r line 12)<sup>561</sup> also confirms that by analogy with the New Persian verb, it was interpreted as *xāstan* (*h'stn*) “to rise, to stand up” in the manuscripts of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line and T55b, closely related to T55b. It should be noted that while the verb *xwāstan* is spelled by either the heterogram *B'YHWN-stan* or eteogram *hw'stn*, the original meaning of *hw'stn* (*xwāstan*) is “to seek, to want, to desire”. It is obvious that it does not fit the context from the semantic point of view because the passage would mean “until the noon watch, the scoundrel became hot [that means: He was warm], (he) wanted”. Furthermore, *x(w)āst* does not correspond to the original Avestan *x'īsaṭca* “and he sweat”. It seems that based on the following gloss *kū dō pā būd*, the scribes of YIrPs corrected *xwist* to *xwāst* “(he) stood up?”. As a result, in the present edition, *xwist* is employed.

As far as the Pahlavi translation technique of the Avestan *tafasaṭ* and *x'īsaṭ* in *tafasaṭca hō mairiō xwīsaṭca* is concerned, they are inchoative verbs which are translated by 3<sup>rd</sup> sg.

<sup>560</sup> For the spellings see text-critical apparatus.

<sup>561</sup> 

past *taft* and *xwist*, respectively in Pahlavi. It should be noted that although some inchoative verbs are found in Pahlavi like the present stem *xwafs*- “sleep”, the formation of *s*-inchoative verbs is not productive in the language (Abolghassemi 1996 (1375):165-166). It explains why the Avestan verbs are not translated by their inchoative counterparts in Pahlavi.

**12) Line 20 Y 9.11eP** *u-š frāz ān ī āhanēn [dēg] frāz spurđ* “and he trampled on the iron [cauldron]”

While YIrPs and YIndP J2 spell *spwlt*, in YIndP K5 and its closely related copy M1, it appears as the causative *spwl’nnt*<sup>562</sup> (*spurānd*) “to make someone trample something” which from the semantic point of view, does not fit the context. Therefore, in agreement with K5 sister manuscript, J2, and YIrPs *spurđ* is employed in the present edition.

**13) Line 22 Y 9.11fP** *tazīd* “ran away”

Phl. *tazīd* renders Av. *apatacaṭ* “ran”. In YIndP K5 and M1, the 3rd sg. past *tazīd* “ran away” is deleted in *parrōn pad tars be tazīd*. However, it is clear that *parrōn pad tars be* needs a verb. It should be noted that in J2, the sister manuscript of K5, *tazīd* is attested. Therefore, although the base text in the present edition is K5, the deletion of *tazīd* is an obvious mistake. As a result, *tazīd* is employed in the present edition.

**14) Line 24 Y 9.11fP** *kū-š* “that his”

In YIrP Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b, the enclitic pronoun *-š* is deleted in *hād mard menišnīh ēd būd kū-š dīl pad gāh dāšt būd* “That is: manly-mindedness was this that his heart had been held in place”. With the reading of the old YIndP J2 and K5, *-š* is given in the present edition.

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<sup>562</sup> ۱۳۳۵ م.

#### 4.12 Y 9.12

- 1 (Y 12aA)** *kasə ʒwqm*  
**2** *tūiriiō haōma mašiiō*  
**3** *astuuaiʒiiāi hunūta gaēʒiiāi*  
**4** *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*  
**5** *ciṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*

**1-3 (Y 12aA)** Who, O Haōma, as the fourth mortal pressed you for the material creature?

**4** What reward was granted to him?

**5** What boon came to him?

- 1 (Y 12aP)** *kē tō*  
**2** *tasom hōm az mardōmān*  
**3** *andar astōmandān gēhān hunīd hē*  
**4** *kē ān tarsagāhīh kard*  
**5** *ud čē ō ōy mad ābādīh*

**1-3 (Y 12aP)** Who, as the fourth one, O Hōm,<sup>1</sup> among men in the material world pressed you,

**4** what respect was shown to him,

**5** and what prosperity came to him?

##### 1) Line 2 Y 9.12aP *hōm* “O Hōm”

In YIrP Pt4 and T55b, *hād* “that is, yes and, yes but” is written instead of *hōm*. However, it is apparent that Phl. *hōm* is the correct translation of Av. *haōmō*. As a result, the reading of YInd J2, K5, M1 and YIr Mf4, G14, T6 and T55b is preferred over that of Pt4 and T55b in the present edition.



## 4.13 Y 9.13

**1 (Y 9.13aA)** *āaṭ mē aēm paitiiaoxta*  
**2** *haōmō ašauua dūraošō*  
**3 (Y 9.13bA)** *pourušaspō mąm tūiriiō mašiiō*  
**4** *astuuaiḡiiāi hunūta gaēḡiiāi*  
**5** *hā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui*  
**6** *taṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āiiaptəm*  
**7 (Y 9.13cA)** *yaṭ hē tūm us.zaiianḡha*  
**8** *tūm ərəzuuō zaraḡuštra*  
**9** *nmānahe pourušaspahe*  
**10** *vīdaēuuō ahura.ṭkaēšō*

**1 (Y 9.13aA)** Thereupon, answered me  
**2** the righteous Haōma whose destruction is difficult:  
**3-4 (Y 9.13bA)** Pourušaspa, as the fourth mortal, pressed me for the material creature.  
**5** This reward was granted to him,  
**6** this boon came to him,  
**7 (Y 9.13cA)** that you were born to him,  
**8** You upright, O Zaraḡuštra,  
**9** (who belong) to the house of Pourušaspa,  
**10** who rejects demons, accepts the Ahuric teaching.

**1 (Y 9.13aP)** *u-š ō man ōy passōx guft*  
**2** *hōm ī ahlaw dūrōš*  
**3 (Y 9.13bP)** *porušasp ī man tasom az mardōmān*  
**4** *andar astōmandān ḡēhān hunīd-am*  
**5** *ōy ān ī tarsagāhīh kard*  
**6** *ud ān ō ōy mad ābādīh*  
**7 (Y 9.13cP)** *ka az ōy tō ul zād hē*  
**8** *tō abēzag zardušt*  
**9** *andar māt ī porušasp*  
**10** *ī jud-dēw ohrmazd-dādestān*  
**11** *[ast kē jud-dēwīh abāz ā-māt ḡōwēd]*

**1 (Y 9.13aP)** and he<sup>1</sup> answered me,  
**2** the righteous, perdition-averting Hōm:  
**3-4 (Y 9.13bP)** Porušasp<sup>2</sup> as the fourth (man) among men pressed me in the material world.  
**5** The respect was shown to him,  
**6** and that prosperity came to him,  
**7 (Y 9.13cP)** when you were born from him<sup>3</sup>  
**8** you, O holy Zardušt,  
**9** in the house of Porušasp,<sup>4</sup>  
**10** who rejects demons, who accepts the law of Ohrmazd  
**11** [there is one who says then, rejecting demons away from us]<sup>5</sup>

### 1) Line 1 Y 9.13aP *ōy* “he”

Phl. *ōy* renders nom. sg. *aēm* “this”. In the stanza 9.13, *ōy* only appears in YIndP K5 and M1 in agreement with which, it is employed in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.13 of the present edition.

### 2) Line 3 Y 9.13bP *porušasp* “Porušasp”

Phl. *porušasp* corresponds to Av. *pourušaspa-*. Analysing the Avestan word as a compound of *pouruša-* “grey” and *aspa-* “horse”, Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 903) rightly points out the problem that the expected form would then be *\*pourušāspa-*. To explain the short -*a-*, Bartholomae (1883: 28) regards it as a spelling mistake. Since the short -*a-* is found in all manuscripts, he suggests that the mistake goes back to a single copy from which all extant manuscripts are supposed to derive.<sup>563</sup> The nom. sg., acc. sg. and gen. sg. of *pourušaspa-* occurs in manuscripts. The variant readings in 66 manuscripts of the Yasna (Sāde, Pahlavi, Sanskri), Visperad (Sāde), Vīdēvdād (Pahlavi, Sāde) and Yt 5 are listed in the following table:<sup>564</sup>

**Table 10. Variant readings of Av. *pourušaspa-*.**

Declension	Variant readings of <i>pourušaspa-</i>
nom. sg.	<i>pourušaspō, pōurušaspō, pouru.šaspō, pōuru.šaspō, purō.šaspō, paourušaspō, paōurušaspō, paōuru.šaspō, paōuruš.aspō, paourušaspō, paourasaspō, pōurušaspa, pōurušašpā, pōuru.šaspqm</i>
acc. sg.	<i>paorušaspəm</i>
gen. sg.	<i>pourušaspahe, pōurušaspahe, pouru.šaspahe, pōuru.šaspahe, pōurusaspahe, pōuru.saspahe, pourušaspahe, pōurušaspahe, pōuruōššaspahe, pōuruššaspahe, pōuru.ššaspahe, pourušaštahe, pōrušaspu, paourušaspahe, paouru.šaspahe, paouruššaspahe, paourušaspahe, paōurušaspahe, paōurusaspahe, paoušaspahe, paourōššaspahe, paouru.ššaspahe, paourušaspahe, paōru.šaspahpe?, pōuru.šaspa?</i>

The great variety of different readings point to the influence of the oral tradition on its written counterpart.<sup>565</sup> It makes it difficult to reconcile with the theory of a single variant *pourušaspa-* resulting from the corruption of a postulated *\*pourušāspa-*. Later, Bartholomae

<sup>563</sup> Bartholomae’s suggestion agrees with the the *Stammhandschriften* theory, developed by Hoffmann in 1970s, according to which the extant Yasna, Visperad and Vīdēvdād manuscripts go back to one Yasna, Visperad and Vīdēvdād copy, respectively, existed around ninth to tenth century CE. However, it has been recently proved to be false by Cantera (2012a: 279-315) and Tremblay (2012: 98-135).

<sup>564</sup> For manuscripts readings see Table 11.

<sup>565</sup> For the tradition of transmission of the Avesta see section 3.1.

(1885: 312) suggests that the form *pouruśaspa-* < *\*pouruśāspa-* “having grey horses” is a wrong etymological analysis derived from *pouruś* “many” + *aspa-* “horse”. The analysis of the first element of the word in the Avesta as *pouru-* “many” is corroborated by the readings of manuscripts which as shown in Table 10, place the separating dot between *pouru-* and *śaspa-*. Moreover, YIndS G26b,<sup>566</sup> writes *paōuruś.aspō* in which *ś* can be considered as the nom. sg. inflection of *pouru* ° in the Bahuvrīhi compound. Furthermore, the interpretation of *pouruś* ° as “many” is present in the following Avestan text of the Vištāsp Yašt:

Vyt 1.2 ... *pourō aspō ya9a pouruśaspahe* ...

(you, Vištāspa may have) many horses like (those) of Pouruśaspa.<sup>567</sup>

It should be noted that Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 903) also considers the Vištāsp Yašt interpretation of *pouruśaspa-* as a failed attempt at etymologizing the name.<sup>568</sup>

Bartholomae’s explanation of *\*pouruśaspa-* as “having grey horses” has been widely accepted by scholars according to the stated graphic theory or the phonetic suggestion, as discussed below. For example, Justi (1895: 254-255) mentions two different interpretations, or that of Vištāsp Yašt and Bartholomae’s suggestion, while taking side neither for nor against any of them. Mayrhofer (1979: I/72) also accepts Bartholomae’s interpretation and Skjærvø (2011b: 27, 131) even goes so far as to transcribe the name as Pouruśāspa.

To accept Bartholomae’s interpretation, as mentioned above, one should assume that the exegetes of the Avestan texts, misunderstood the meaning of the word *pouruśa-* “grey” as *pouru-* “many” and they considered *ś* as the nominal ending of the first element of the word and simultaneously, they edited the long *ā* in *\*pouruśāspa* to *a*. The assumption is put into question by the evidence from the Avesta in which the simplex *pouruśa-* “grey” occurs in Vd 7.57, translated as *pīr* “old” in the corresponding Pahlavi version. It shows that although in the Pahlavi version, *pouruśa-* is mistakenly interpreted as *pīr* “old”, the Avestan interpreters could at least differentiate between *pouru-* “many” and *pouruśa-* “grey, old (according to Pahlavi interpretation)”.<sup>569</sup> Therefore, it is unlikely that *\*pouruśāspa-* was wrongly analysed by them in the same Vīdēvdād text; Vd. 19. 4, 19, 46.

<sup>566</sup> See Table 11.

<sup>567</sup> My translation. Edition by Bartholomae (*AirWb.* 903).

<sup>568</sup> Darmesteter (1892: 663) suggests that Vištāsp Yašt is a late collection of the Vīdēvdād. However, this idea has been challenged by Molé (1963: 350) mentioning that the text of the Vištāsp Yašt is not as incoherent as Darmesteter suggested. Furthermore, Cantera (2013: 95) states that there are texts in the Vištāsp Yašt which are absent in the Vīdēvdād.

<sup>569</sup> For an edition of the Pahlavi Vīdēvdād see Moazami (2014) and also Anklesaria (1949). While in Geldner’s

Kellens (2006: 269) also accepts Bartholomae's analysis of the name as consisting of *pouruša-* "grey" and *aspa-* but unlike Bartholomae, he explains the alleged shortening of  $\bar{a} > a$  as being due to syllabification of the word. According to him, there was a vowel reduction of the hexasyllabic *\*pourušāspahe* (*pouruša'aspahe*) to the pentasyllabic *pourušaspahe*, occurring in Y 9.13, to maintain the octosyllabic metre of *nmānahe pourušaspahe* "in the house of Pourušaspa". He compares the vowel reduction with dat. sg. *\*gaēθaiiāi > gaēθiiāi* in *astuuaiθiiāi hunūta gaēθiiāi* through whose vowel deletion the octosyllabic metre of the phrase is preserved. However, apart from the dat. case, in other cases,  $\bar{a}$  is present in *gaēθā-*.<sup>570</sup> Moreover, it is unclear whether the form *gaēθiiāi* is to maintain the metre or according to Reichelt (1909: 197, fn. 1), it is developed by analogy with *astuuaiθiiāi*. Furthermore, it should be noted that the fluctuation of *-aiia-* and *-iia-* is quite common in the Avesta. As far as other texts giving *pourušaspa-* are concerned, it is difficult to conclude according to the prose text of the Vīdēvdād because although *\*pourušāspa-* is absent in it, the phrases in which *pourušaspa-* occur, correspond to that in the metric texts of Y 9.13 and Yt 5.18. However, against Kellens's phonetic explanation, the phrase Y 9.13 *pourušaspō mām tūiriiō mašiiō* in which nom. sg. *pourušaspō* appears, has nine rather than eight syllables. Furthermore, without vowel shortening, the long  $\bar{a}$  in *pourušāspa-* can be considered both as a hiatus and a contraction like *kərəsāspa-* in Y 9.11 *naire.manā kərəsāspō* (hiatus) and Yt 19.39 *yā upaṇhacat kərəsāspəm* (contraction).<sup>571</sup> Therefore, like the graphic theory, the phonetic suggestion of the shortening of  $\bar{a} > a$  is unconvincing.

As far as other possible explanations for the short vowel *a* in the suggested *pouruša-* "grey" + *aspa-* "horse" are concerned, Kellens (1974: 202) states that *\*ā* becomes *a* in the antepenultimate syllables of compounds with *mazdā-* as the first member like *mazdaoxta-*, *mazdaōāta-* and *mazdaiiasna-*. However, Kellens counts the antepenultimate syllables in the unattested stems rather than the actual inflected forms which occur in the text. For instance, unlike Kellens's suggestion,  $\bar{a} > a$  in the gen. sg. *mazdaiiasnahe* in Yt 13.121 should have taken place in the second syllable of the pentasyllabic word rather than its antepenultimate syllable. Kellens's suggestion is also questioned by de Vaan (2003: 182), stating that  $\bar{a} > a$  in the mentioned examples of *mazdā-* is comparable to that in the feminine

edition (1886-1896: III, 55), *pouruša-* occurs in Vd 7.57, in Moazami's (2014: 212) edition, its corresponding Pahlavi translation *pīr* appears in Vd 7.56.

<sup>570</sup> See *AirWb.* 477-479; Reichelt (1909: 197).

<sup>571</sup> See Geldner (1877: 13); Hintze (1994a: 209); Kellens (2006: 269).

*ā*- stems occurring as the first member of the compound. It should be noted that with Kellens's suggestion, it is still impossible to explain the form *pourušaspa*- because *ā* in the stem and the attested nom. sg. *pourušaspō* and acc. sg. *pourušaspəm* occurs in the penultimate syllable. Moreover, *ā* in *mazdā*- takes place in an open syllable, by contrast, as discussed above, according to the octosyllabic metre of Y 9.13, *ā* in the pentasyllabic gen. sg. *\*pourušāspahe* occurs in the closed syllable *-šās-* whose shortening, according to de Vaan (2003: 610) is unexpected.

The shortening of the vowel *ā* > *a* is studied in detail by de Vaan (2003: 108-160) according to whom the shortening of *\*pourušāspa*- > *pourušaspa*- in the both penultimate and antepenultimate syllables is unjustifiable. It was probably the reason that de Vaan leaves *\*pourušāspa*- > *pourušaspa*- undiscussed in his study of the Avestan vowels. The shortening in the penultimate syllable only occurs in a small number of words whose original length is often perceived in some manuscripts (de Vaan 2003: 128). Such shortenings usually take place either by analogy, for example Y 13.1 *bipaitiṣtanqm* with gen. pl. ending *-anqm* or in instances in which the original length of *ā* is unknown because of the uncertain etymology, for example *uštāna*- (de Vaan 2003: 128-132). Furthermore, the antepenultimate shortening of *\*ā* > *a* in gen. sg. *pourušaspahe* is unlikely because such shortenings occur either in the antepenultimate open syllables of *ar*-/ *n*- stems or in the sequence of nom. *\*-āras*/ acc. *\*-āram*, or in front of *-na-* or in a few other examples to all of which the enclitic *-ca/-ciṭ* is usually attached (de Vaan 2003: 109-122, 127-128).

Av. *\*pourušāspa*- could also be compared with *spitāma*-, because *spitāma*- < *spita*- + *ama*- in voc. singular, voc. pl. and dat. pl. cases appears as *spitama*, *spitamāṇhō* and *spitamāi*, respectively. However, in contrast to *\*pourušāspa*- which is absent in the entire Avesta, *spitāma*- is attested with *ā* in other cases and the shortening of the vowel in the mentioned examples is associated with the retraction of accent in the vocative case and the dissimilation of *ā* in the dative case because of the following *ā* in the next syllable.<sup>572</sup> Finally, the shortening of the vowel *ā* could be explained by analogy (de Vaan 2003: 108) which is also unsupported by evidence because the closest contrasting compound to *\*pourušāspa*-, or Yt 10.102 *aurušāspa*- “having white horses”, derived from *auruša*- “white” and *aspa*- “horse” (*AirWb.* 191), appears with the long vowel *ā* in the Avesta. Furthermore, other similar proper names such as *(dā)jāmāspa*-, *(dā)jāma*- + *aspa*- (data not

<sup>572</sup> Hoffmann (1975: 266); de Vaan (2003: 134).

shown), *kərāsāspa-*, *kərāsa-* + *aspa-* (data not shown) and *vištāspa-*, *višta-* + *aspa-*,<sup>573</sup> consistently occur with the long vowels.

Pakhalina (1987: 157), by contrast, derives *pourušaspa-* from OIr. *\*paru-šaśva-* “muchseer, foreteller, prophet” whose second element is derived from the suggested IE *\*ksekʷos* of the root *\*sekʷ-* “to see, to feel, to notice, to speak”. First, it should be noted that the reconstruction of Pakhalina is problematic because *śv* is absent in Indo-iranian. Therefore, it should have been reconstructed as *\*paru-šacwa-* according to which its second element *šacwa-* develops to Av. *šaspa-*.<sup>574</sup> As mentioned by Pakhalina (1987: 157), the etymological cognate of the root occurs in Gr. ἑσπιος “who says the divine (words), prophet”. However, the root is absent in IIr. languages. Furthermore, the derivative *\*ksekʷos* has no counterpart neither in Greek nor in any IE language and in the case of ἑσπιος, while the expected IE *\*ks* > Gr. ξ is absent in the word, ἑσπις is the contracted forms of *\*θεσ-σπέ-τιος* in which the first element of the word is from θεσ- “divine”.<sup>575</sup>

By analogy with *pouruš.xʷāθra-* “who has many pleasure” and the proper name *pourušti-* it is possible to associate *pouruš°* with the stem *pouru-* “many” to which *-š* is attached. With this interpretation, *-š* represents the nom. sg. inflection of *pouru-* as the first member of the compound.<sup>576</sup> As stated above, the interpretation also agrees with the Avestan understanding of the word. Apart from Avestan, in Bactrian, two forms of a proper name appear as *πορ[...]/πο* and its corresponding hypocristic form *ποποκο*. The former is hypothetically reconstructed as *\*πορασπο* deriving from Ir. *\*paru-aspa-* “having many horses”, cf. Av. *pouru.aspa-*. (Sims-Williams 2010: 117-118).

In conclusion, while the evidence casts doubt on the graphic and phonetic suggestions of the development *\*pourušāspa-* > *pourušaspa-*, it seems that on the one hand, the development *pouru°* “many” > *pouruš°*, at least, has analogical models in the Avesta and on the other hand, the proper name meaning “having many horses” occurs in another Iranian language.

Regarding the transcription of *pourušaspa-*, Pirart (2004: 71) corrects the word to *paourušaspa-*. Although, as shown in the table, *paourušaspa-* with *u* epenthesis, occurs in the collated manuscripts, Pirart’s correction seems to be unnecessary. Therefore, in the

<sup>573</sup> The manuscript readings of *vištāspa-* are not collated. However, in all editions, it has consistently been given by the long *ā*. The corresponding word in Old Persian, spelled as *v-š-t-a-s-p*, also appears with long vowel (Mayrhofer 1979: II/29).

<sup>574</sup> See Windfuhr (2009: 19).

<sup>575</sup> For IE *k*, Av. *š*, Gr. ξ see Kent (1953: 36, §102). For *\*sekʷ-* see *IEW*. 896-897; *LIV*. 526-527. For *\*θεσ-σπέ-τιος* see *IEW*. 268-269, 896-897.

<sup>576</sup> For *-š* in compositions see Kellens (1974: 39-40).

present edition with *paru*° > *pouru*° showing the regular labialisation of *a* because of *u*, *pourušaspa*- is employed.<sup>577</sup>

In the Pahlavi version, *pwlšsp* appears in YIndPs whereas in YIrPs, *pwlwš'sp* is attested. Beside *pwlwš'sp*, in the second occurrence of the word in *andar mān ī porušasp*, it is spelled as *pwlwšsp* in T6. Likewise, *porušasp* has been transcribed differently by scholars, for example *purušāsp* (Davar 1904: 20), *pōrūšasp* (Justi 1895: 254), *pourušāsp* (Nyberg 1974: 162) and *porušasp* (Josephson 1997: 53). Considering the Pahlavi script, it is impossible to evaluate the value of ' and *w*. The reason is that although the *matres lectionis* ' , *w* and *y* often represent long vowels in Pahlavi, they can also stand for short vowels, for example Phl. *zltwšt* vs. Av. *zaraθuštra*- and Phl. *slyt* vs. Av. *θrita*-. Regarding the first *w* after *p* in *pwl(w)š(')sp*, the corresponding word in Avestan is *pouruš*° with the short vowel *o*. However, as listed in the table, some manuscripts spell *pouruš*° as *pōuruš*° or *paōuruš*° which could indicate the dialectical lengthening of the vowel *o* > *ō*. The evidence from the Arabic sources shows that the corresponding word occurs as both *bršsf* and *bwrš'sf* (Justi 1895: 254-255). The reading *br* in *bršsf* (transcr. *buršasf*) agrees with the expected phonemic and possibly phonetic short *o*. In conclusion, at least from the phonemic point of view, the value of the first *w* in *pwl(w)š(')sp* is short and therefore, it is transcribed with *o* in the present edition. It is evident that the second letter *w* appearing in Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b, corresponding to *u* in Av. *pourušaspa*-, is also short. As far as the last vowel is concerned, it is represented by *alif*, or ' , in Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6 and T55b. In the New Persian version of YIrP F2 (fol. 56v line 4, 7, 10, 13) and YIrP T6 (fol. 49r line 6, 8), *Porušasp* is given as *pwrwšsp* (پوروشسپ). Likewise, in the New Persian version of the trilingual Vīdēvdād Pahlavi manuscripts (data not shown) and Zoroastrian New Persian text *Zarātušnāma*, *Porušasp* is written with the short *a*.<sup>578</sup> Therefore, it seems that *alif*, or ' , in Phl. *pwlwš'sp* represents the stylistic writing feature of the manuscripts rather than the dialectical lengthening as the long *ā* is absent in their corresponding Avestan and New Persian (F2, T6) versions. As a loanword from Avestan, the short vowel *a* also agrees with the phonetic value of its corresponding vowel in Av. *pourušaspa*- as discussed above.

<sup>577</sup> See de Vaan (2003: 415-416).

<sup>578</sup> For the Vīdēvdād Pahlavi manuscripts see <http://avesta-archive.com/>.

For the reading of *pwršsp* (پورشسپ) in *Zarātušt-Nāma* see (Dabir-Siyaghi 1959 (1338): 5, 12, 14, 23, 25).

Table 11. Manuscripts readings of Av. *pouruśaspa-*.

Variants of <i>pouruśaspa-</i> m. in nom. sg. declension	
Reading	Manuscripts
<i>pouruśaspō</i>	VdIrS TU1 fol. 24r line 6; VdIrS RSPA230 fol. 24v line 20; VdIrS ML15283 fol. 26r line 9; YIrS Nik2 fol. 42v line 7-8; VrIrS KM4 fol. 24r line 10; VrIrS MZK1 fol. 29r line 17; VrIrS MZK2a fol. 36r line 3.
<i>pōuruśaspō</i>	VdIrS RR1 fol. 25v line 14; YIrS ML15284 fol. 24r line 1-2; VdIndS L1 fol. 19r line 3-4; VdIndS B2 fol. 15r line 13; VdIndS T46 fol. 29v line 8; VdIndS O2 fol. 28v line 11; VdIndS G112 fol. 21v line 1; VdIndS K10 fol. 22r line 5; YSkt K6 fol. 78r line 2; YSkt KM7 fol. 54v line 11.
<i>pouru.śaspō</i>	VdIrS 977/978 fol. 21v line 14-15; VdIrS Ave991 fol. 21v line 11; VdIrS Ave1001 fol. 20v line 12.
<i>pōuru.śaspō</i>	VdIndS Malik6459 fol. 22r line 3-4; YSkt S1 fol. 38v line 2.
<i>pōurō.śaspō</i>	VdIndS B4 fol. 22r line 19-20.
<i>purō.śaspō</i>	VdIndS G106 fol. 19v line 7.
<i>paouruśaspō</i>	VdIndS Bh3 fol. 19v line 10; YIrS ML15285 fol. 25v line 8; YIndS K11A fol. 48v line 7-8; YIndS Lb2 fol. 29r line 7-8; YIrP G14 fol. 57r line 11; YIrP T6 fol. 48v line 13; YIndP K5 fol. 64v line 13; YIndP M1 fol. 167r line 6.
<i>paōuruśaspō</i>	YIrS MZK4 fol. 33r line 13-14; YIrS MZK3 fol. 28r line 9; YIrP Mf4 fol. 78v line 11; VrIrS G18b fol. 83r line 5-6; VrIrS DZVr1 fol. 34v line 5; VrIrS DZVr2 fol. 40r line 3; VrIrS G27 fol. 42r line 3.
<i>paōuru.śaspō</i>	VdIrS ML16226 fol. 24r line 5-6.
<i>paōuruś.aspō</i>	YIndS G26b fol. 46r line 3-4.
<i>paouruśaspō</i>	YIrP Pt4 fol. 58r line 17; YIrP F2 fol. 56v line 4; YIrP T55b fol. 75v line 6-7; YIndP J2 fol. 86v line 13.
<i>paourasaspō</i>	YIndS L17 fol. 49r line 12-13.
<i>pōuruśaspa?</i>	VdIndS ML630 fol. 21v line 4
<i>pōuruśasṣpā?</i>	YIndS Bh5 fol. 38v line 7-8.
<i>pōuru.śaspaṃ</i>	VdIndS FIRES1 fol. 19v line 8
Variant of <i>pouruśaspa-</i> m. in acc. sg. declension	
<i>paoruśaspam</i>	YtS B9 fol. 15v line 6-7.
Variants <i>pouruśaspa-</i> m. in gen. sg. declension	
<i>pouruśaspahe</i>	VdIrS TU1 fol. 24r line 11, fol. 243v line 11, fol. 244r line 1-2, fol. 250v line 5-6; VdIrS 977/978 fol. 21v line 18, fol. 244v line 3, fol. 251r line 14; VdIrS 991 fol. 21v line 14, fol. 223v line 11-12, fol. 230r line 19-20; VdIrS Ave1001 fol. 20v line 16, fol. 243v line 10, 20; VdIrS ML16226 fol. 250r line 8; VdIrS RSPA230 fol. 227v line 18, fol. 228r line 8-9, fol. 234r line 21; VdIrS ML15283 fol. 26r line 14-15, fol. 236r line 18-19, fol. 236v line 9; fol. 242v line 13-14; VdIndS B2 fol. 301r line 15; VdIndS T46 fol. 362r line 3-4; VdP E10 fol. 159r line 13; YIrS ML15285 fol. 25v line 13-14; YIrP Mf4 fol. 79r line 2; VrIrS G18b fol. 83r line 12; VrIrS KM4 fol. 24r line 14; VrIrS MZK2a fol. 36r line 8-9.



<i>pōurušaspahe</i>	VdIrS 977/978 fol. 244r line 12; VdIrS Ave991 fol. 223r line 21; VdIrS ML16226 fol. 24r line 10, VdIrS RR1 fol. 234v line 20, fol. 235r line 10; VdIndS L1 fol. 19r line 8, line fol. 207r line 3-4; VdIndS B2 fol. 15v line 3, fol. 301v line 10-11, fol. 310v line 12-13; VdIndS T46 fol. 29v line 12-13, fol. 362v line 1, fol. 372r line 8-9; VdIndS O2 fol. 28v line 15; VdIndS Malik6459 fol. 22r line 8-9; VdIndS B4 fol. 22r-22v line 24-1; VdIndS G112 fol. 21v line 5, fol. 246v line 4, line 14-15; VdIndS K10 fol. 247v line 9-10, fol. 248r line 1-2, fol. 255r line 18-19; VdIndS ML630 fol. 21v line 8; fol. 254r, line 16-17, fol. 254v line 10-11; fol. 262v line 2; VdIndS FIRES1 fol. 251r line 5, line 15-16, fol. 259r line 11-12; VdP K1 fol. 233r line 7; VdP G25 fol. 128v line 1-2; VdP G28 fol. 264v line 10-11; VdP B1 fol. 388v line 2-3; 410v line 3; VdP M3 fol. 265r line 12, fol. 278r line 13-14; YIrS MZK3 fol. 28r line 14; YIrP G14 fol. 57v line 3; YSkt K6 fol. 78r line 11; YSkt KM7 fol. 55r line 3; VrIrS MZK1 fol. 29v line 5; VrIrS DZVr2 fol. 40r line 9.
<i>pouru.šaspahe</i>	VdIrS Ave1001 fol. 250r line 16; VdIrS ML16226 fol. 256r line 12-13; VdIndS M2 fol. 236v line 8; YIrS ML15284 fol. 24r line 5; YIrS Nik2 fol. 42v line 12-13.
<i>pōuru.šaspahe</i>	VdIndS K10 fol. 22r line 10-11; YSkt S1 fol. 38v line 7.
<i>pōurusaspahe</i>	YIndS K11A fol. 48v-49r line 13-1
<i>pōuru.saspahe</i>	VdIndS B4 fol. 202v line 3-4, line 14, fol. 208r line 4; YIndS Lb2 fol. 29r line 14-15.
<i>pourušaspahe</i>	VdP L4 fol. 264r line 10-11, fol. 265r line 12; VdP G28 fol. 251r-252v, line 15-1, fol. 252r line 9-10; VdP T44 303v line 13, fol. 304v line 13; VdP Bh11 259v line 2.
<i>pōurušaspahe</i>	VdP L4 fol. 280v line 9-10; VdP T44 fol. 321r line 4; YIndS B3 fol. 34r line 11; YIndS L17 fol. 49v line 3-4; YIndP K5 fol. 65r line 2; YIndP M1 fol. 167v line 5-6.
<i>pōuruōšspahe</i>	VdP F10 fol. 294r line 11.
<i>Pōurušspahe</i>	VdP G25 fol. 111r line 6; VdP F10 fol. 278r line 12.
<i>pōuru.šspahe</i>	VdP G34 fol. 274r, line 3-4.
<i>pourušaštahe</i>	VdIndS L1 fol. 206v line 13.
<i>Pōrušaspu</i>	YIndS Bh5 fol. 38v line 16.
<i>paourušaspahe</i>	VdIndS L1 fol. 213r line 7; VdIndS M2 fol. 227v line 15-16; VdIndS G112 fol. 254r line 13-14; VdP K1 fol. 218r line 1; VdP F10 fol. 279r line 9-10; VdP B1 fol. 389v line 11-12; VdP E10 fol. 151v line 4; VdP M3 fol. 266r line 2; YIrP F2 fol. 56v line 10-11; YIrP T6 fol. 49r line 6; YIrP T55b fol. 75v-76r line 15-1; VytP F12A fol. 5r; VytS G120 fol. 9r line 13.
<i>paouru.šaspahe</i>	VdIndS G106 fol. 205v line 15; VdP G25 fol. 109v-110r line 13-1.
<i>paouruššspahe</i>	YIndP J2 fol. 87r line 6.
<i>paourušaspahe</i>	VdP Bh11 fol. 237v line 7-8, fol. 239r line 3.
<i>paōurušaspahe</i>	VdIrS ML16226 fol. 249v line 18; VdIndS M2 fol. 228r line 11; VdIndS G106 fol. 206r line 5-6; YIrS MZK4 fol. 33v line 1; YIndS G26b fol. 46r line 10-11; YIrP Pt4 fol. 58v line 3; VrIrS DZVr1 fol. 34v line 10-11.
<i>paōurusaspahe</i>	VrIrS G27 fol. 42r line 8; VdIrS RSPA230 fol. 25r line 4.
<i>paoušaspahe</i>	VdIndS G106 fol. 212r line 9.

<i>paourōšaspahe</i>	VdIndS G106 fol. 19v line 11.
<i>paouru.šspahe</i>	VdP G34 fol. 274v line 12.
<i>paourušaspahe</i>	VdP E10 151r line 4.
<i>paōru.šaspahpe</i> ?	VytS G18a fol. 13v line 11 (corrupt).
<i>pōuru.šaspa?</i>	VdIndS Bh3 fol. 19v line 13-14; VdIndS FIRES1 fol. 19v line 12.

### 3) Line 7 Y 9.13cP *ka az ōy tō ul zād hē* “when were you born from him”

The Pahlavi verb *ul zād* “was born” translates the Avestan verb *us.zaiianṇha* which could be either interpreted as inj. of the passive stem *zaiia-* of the root *zan* “to bear” or through a small emendation, could be read *us.zaiianṇ<sup>v</sup>ha* ipt. of the same root and stem. However, the inj. verb fits the context of the stanza, describing an event in the past. Likewise, with the inj. interpretation, Josephson (1997: 54) and Pirart (2004 :274) translate the Avestan original *yaṭ hē tūm us.zaiianṇha* as “that you were born to him” and “*que tu lui naquis*”, respectively.

In the Pahlavi version, *us.zaiianṇha* is rendered by the ergative construction *ul zād hē* in which Phl. *ul* stands for Av. *us* and Av. *zaiianṇha* corresponds to Phl. *zād hē*. Moreover, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. dat. pronoun *hē* appears in Pahlavi by the ablative expressing preposition *az* “from” + *ōy* “he”.

### 4) Line 9 Y 9.13cP *andar mān ī porušasp* “in the house of Porušasp”

The Phl. *andar mān ī porušasp* “in the house of Pourušaspa” translates Av. *nmānahe pourušaspahe*. In Pahlavi, the Avestan gen. sg. *nmānahe* is expressed by *andar* “in”. As far as the reading of manuscripts is concerned, they show the following variants of *nmānahe*, occurring in Y 9.13, Vd. 19.4, 46:<sup>579</sup>

Variants of <i>nmāna-</i> ntr. in loc. sg. declension
<i>nmānahe, nāmānahe, namānahe, nāmānhi, namānahu, nmāna, namāne</i>

According to Table 12, in all manuscripts, *nmāna-* appears in the genitive case with the exception of VdP G25 in which *nmāna-* is expressed by the loc. sg. *nmāne*. However, it is a late manuscript which belongs to the Nawsari school, written down under the correction movement started after the arrival of Dastur Jāmāsp Velāyati in India sometime in the 1720s. It should also be noted that other manuscripts of this class, best represented by E10, T44

<sup>579</sup> For manuscripts readings see Table 12.

and Bh11, show the genitive case.<sup>580</sup> Therefore, while the loc. sg. *nmāne* is to be regarded as a correction introduced to an insignificant manuscript, the gen. sg. *nmānahe* is the original form of the Avestan word. In editions, it is also given unanimously as gen. sg. *nmānahe* by scholars.<sup>581</sup>

The gen. sg. *nmānahe* in Y 9.13 *nmānahe pouruśaspahe* can be compared with the Indo-European languages in which two formulaic structures exist regarding asking one's (paternal) ancestors. They are reconstructed as 1) *\*k<sup>w</sup>is h<sub>1</sub>essi* "who are you?" and 2) *k<sup>w</sup>osjo h<sub>1</sub>essi* "of whom you are?". Likewise, in the Avesta, two corresponding identifying formulas are used: 1) *ciš ahī* (Y 43.7) / *kō narə ahī* "who are you" (Y 9.1) and *kahiiā ahī* "of whom are you" (Y 43.7). Av. *kō narə ahī* occurs in the following context: Y 9.1 *ā dim pərəsaṭ zaraθuštrō kō narə ahī* "Zaraθuštra asked him, who are you?". It is answered in Y 9.2 by *azəm ahmi zaraθuštra haōmō ašauua dūraošō* "I am, O zaraθuštra, Haōma whose destruction is difficult". Moreover, *ciš ahī* and *kahiiā ahī* take place in the following text:

Y 43.7 *spəntəm aṭ 9βā mazdā mēnghī ahurā*  
*hiiat mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manayhā*  
*pərəsaṭ cā mā ciš ahī kahiiā ahī*  
*ka9ā aiiarə daxšārā fərasaiiāi dīšā*  
*aibī 9βāhū gaē9āhū tanuścā*

I realised that you are life giving, O Ahura Mazdā,  
 when he, through Good Thought, attended me  
 and asked me: who are you? Of whom are you?  
 How would you, O zealous one, set a date for questioning  
 about your creatures and yourself?<sup>582</sup>

The question *ciš ahī* is answered in Y 43.8:

Y 43.8 *aṭ aoji zaraθuštrō paouruuīm*  
*hai9iiō.duuāēšā hiiat isōiiā drəguuāitē*  
*aṭ ašāunē rafənō xiiēm aoji9hūuṭ*  
*hiiat ā būštīš vasasə.xša9rahiiā diiā*  
*yauuṭ ā 9βā mazdā stāumī ufiiācā*

Then, I said: "Zaraθuštra, as the first (one)  
 (would be) a real enemy to the deceitful one. If I were able,  
 I would be a strong support to the righteous one,  
 if I acquired the faculties of one who rules at wish

<sup>580</sup> See Pirart (2002: 24, fn. 11<sup>3-3</sup>); Cantera (2015b).

<sup>581</sup> See Geldner (1886-1896: I, 42; III, 123, 132); Darmesteter (1960: 89); Josephson (1997: 53); Pirart (2004: 71).

<sup>582</sup> My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 112) and Insler (1975: 63), also see Humbach (1991: I, 63).

while I praise and eulogise you, O Wise one”.<sup>583</sup>

As shown in the above examples (Y 9.1 and Y 43.7), the nom. sg. interrogative pronoun *kō* and *ciś*, are answered with the nom. sg. *haōmō dūraośō* and *zaraḡuśtrō*, respectively. However, although the answer to the question *kahiiā ahī* “of whom are you” is absent in Y 43.8, in the Sanskrit Mahābhārata, the corresponding question and answer in genitive appears as follows.<sup>584</sup>

Q. MB 1.122.19 *ko 'si kasyāsi ...*<sup>585</sup>

who are you, of whom are you?

A. MB 1.122.28 ... *aham priyatamaḥ putraḥ piturdroṇa mahātmanaḥ*

I am the most beloved son of my father who has the great spirit, O Droṇa!

Q. MB 1.142.2 ... *kasya tvam...kā cāsi.*

of whom are you ... and who are you?

A. MB 1.142.6 *tasya mām rāksasendrasya bhaginīm ...*

me, sister of that lord Rāksasa ...

Q. MB 1.160.34 *kāsi kasyāsi ...*

who are you, of whom are you?

A. MB. 161.20 *aham hi tapatī nāma sāvitryavarajā sūtā  
asya lokapratipasya savituḥ kṣatryaśrama*

I, namely Tapatī, the younger sister of Sāvitrī, the daughter  
of the torch of the world Savitar O king of the flock.

Q. MB 3.123.3 *kasya tvam asi ...*

of whom are you?

A. MB 3.123.4 ... *śaryātityāṃ vittaṃ bhāryāṃ ca cyavanasya mama*

known as the daughter of Śaryāti and the wife of my Cyavana

<sup>583</sup> My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 112) and Insler (1975: 63), also see Humbach (1991: I, 153).

<sup>584</sup> Translations are mine. For MB 1.22.19, 28; 1.142.2, 6; 1.160.34; 1.161.20 see MBP I. 544, 545, 611, 612, 675, 678, respectively.

For MB III 123.3; 123.4 see MBP III. 406-407.

<sup>585</sup> As noted by Schmitt (1967: 137), *kasyāsi* “of whom are you” is only given in the text-critical apparatus of the Poona edition in whose main edited version the phrase appears as *ko 'si kaṃ tvāmijānīmo vyaṃ kiṃ karavāmahe* “who are you? How should we know you? What can we do?” (See MBP. I, 544).

In addition, the Old Persian phrase *mana AM*<sup>586</sup> *AM-ha adam* “Auramazdā is mine, I belong to Auramazdā”, engraved in the Susa inscription of Darius I (ruled 522-482 BCE), is also related to the IE formulaic structure:

DSk. *adam dārayavauš XŠ*<sup>587</sup> *vazarka<sup>h</sup> XŠ XŠ-yānām*  
*XŠ DH-nām*<sup>588</sup> *vištāspahyā puça<sup>h</sup> haxāmanišya<sup>h</sup>*  
*ṡātiy dārayavauš XŠ*  
*manā AM AM-ha adam*  
*AM-m ayadaiy*  
*AM-maiy upastām baratuv*

I am Darius, the great King, King of the Kings.  
king of the lands, the son of Vištāspa, the Achaemenid.  
Darius the king says:  
Auramazdā is mine, I belong to Auramazdā.  
I worshipped Auramazdā.  
Auramazdā may bring help to me.<sup>589</sup>

Therefore, it seems that from the semantic point of view, the genitive *nmānahe pouruśaspahe* is to be understood as a formula, identifying the ancestry of Zaraṡuštra, corresponding to the question *kahiiā ahī*, or YAv \**kahe ahi* and the genitive case in the context of Y 9.13 has the sense of consanguineous belonging to the house of Zarṡuštra’s father.

Apart from Y 9.13, *nmānahe pouruśaspahe* also takes place in the Vīdēvdād. As given below, while with Y 9.13, *nmānahe pouruśaspahe* in Vd. 19.46 should also be translated as “who belongs to the house of Pouruśaspa”, according to the context of Vd 19.4, the phrase is to be treated like a simple genitive case associated with the preceding *drājiiā paiti zbarahi* “on (the bank of) the high Drājā (river)”:

Vd 19.4 *usəhištaṡ zaraṡuštrō frašusəṡ zaraṡuštrō*  
*asarəto aka manəṡha xrūždiia tbaēšō.parštanəm*  
*ašānō zasta dražimnō katō.masəṡhō həṡti*  
*ašauua zaraṡuštrō viṡdəmnō daṡušō ahurāi mazdāi*  
*kuua hē dražahe*  
*aiṡhā zəmo yaṡ*  
*paṡanaiiā skarənaiiā dūraēpārāiā*  
*drājiiā paiti zbarahi*

<sup>586</sup> AM stands for *auramazdā*- (= Av. *ahura- mazdā*-) when written in Old Persian with an ideogram. For Old Persian characters and ideograms see Kent (1953: 11-12).

<sup>587</sup> XŠ stands for *xšāyaṡiya*- when written in Old Persian with an ideogram.

<sup>588</sup> DH stands for *dahyu*- when written in Old Persian with an ideogram.

<sup>589</sup> The text is after Kent (1953: 145), also see Schmitt (1967: 137).

*nmānahe pouruśaspahe*

Zaraθuštra woke up, Zaraθuštra began to go forth,  
unharmd by Evil Spirit, by the hardness of the injuring questions.  
The running stones of the length of a house size are in (his) hand,  
the righteous Zaraθuštra, finding for the sake of the creator Ahura Mazdā.  
Where do you direct (the stones) to him (the Evil Spirit),  
on this earth which  
is wide, round, whose borders lie afar?  
On (the bank of) the high Drəjā (river)  
of the house of Pouruśaspa.<sup>590</sup>

Vd. 19.46. *zātō bē yō ašauua zaraθuštrō*  
*nmānahe pouruśaspahe*  
*kuua hē aošō vīndāma*  
*hā daēuuanqm snaθō*  
*hā daēuuanqm paitiārō*  
*hā druxš vī.druxš*  
*niiāninō daēuuiiazō*  
*nasuš daēuuō.dātō draogō miθaoxtō*

The born one is indeed the righteous Zaraθuštra,  
who belongs to the house of Pouruśaspa.  
How shall we find his destruction?  
He is the weapon against demons.  
He is the antagonist of demons.  
He is the counter-deceit of the deceit.  
Vanished are the Daēuua (demon)-worshippers,  
the demon-created decay, the false speaking deceit.<sup>591</sup>

From the semantic point of view, Av. *nmāna-* has been referred to both “house as a physical construction” and “family, household” (Benveniste 1969: 240). Therefore, Y 9.13 could be translated as follows:

**(Y 9.13cA)** *yaṭ hē tūm us.zaiianḥa*  
*tūm ərazuuō zaraθuštra*  
*nmānahe pouruśaspahe*  
*vīdaēuuō ahura.ṭkaēšō*

**(Y 9.13cA)** that you were born to him,  
You upright, O Zaraθuštra,  
(you who belong) to the house(hold)? of Pouruśaspa,  
who rejects demons, accepts the Ahuric teaching.

<sup>590</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 123).

<sup>591</sup> The text is after Hintze (2013: 34).

It should be noted that YAv. *nmāna-* develops from OAv. *dāmāna-*, from the root *dam* “to build”.<sup>592</sup> As far as the meaning of OAv. *dāmāna-* is concerned, it seems that although in some stanzas, it can be associated with both “house” and “household”, according to the context of some other examples, it is to be interpreted as “house”, for example:

Y 49.11 *aṭ dušxšaθrēṅ duš.šiiəθanēṅ dužuuaçaṅhō*  
*duždaēnēṅ dužmanāṅhō drəguuatō*  
*akāiš xvarəθāiš paitī uruuqno [pait]iieṇti*  
*drūjō dāmānē haiθiiā aṅhən astaiiō*

Then, the bad-rules, bad-deeds, bad-words,  
 bad-visions (and) bad-thoughts of the deceitful persons,  
 (their) souls face evil-food.  
 They shall be the real guests of the house of deceit.<sup>593</sup>

Y 50.4 *aṭ vā yazāi stauuas mazdā ahurā*  
*hadā ašā vahištācā manāṅhā*  
*xšaθrācā yā išō stāṇhaṭ ā paiθī*  
*ākā arədrēṅ dāmānē garō səraošāne*

Then, praising, I may worship you all, O Ahura Mazdā,  
 with Truth and Best Thought  
 and Rule through which I shall stand on the path of power.  
 I shall hear the truly sincere beings in the house of song.<sup>594</sup>

Y 51.14. *nōiṭ uruuāθā dātōibiiascā karapanō vāstrāt arəm*  
*gauuōi arōiš ā.səndā x<sup>v</sup>āiš šiaoθanāišcā sēṇhāišcā*  
*yā iṣ sēṇhō apēməm druḵō dāmānē ādāt*

The Karpans are not allies, being far from the laws and pasture,  
 through their action and preaching, there is a joy from injury to the cow,  
 the preach which place them in the house of deceit in the end.<sup>595</sup>

Likewise, in Young Avestan, *nmāna-* is to be associated with house rather than household according to some stanzas, for example:

Y 57.21 *sraošəm ašīm huraodəm vərəθrājanəm frādaṭ gaēθəm ... yazamaide*  
*yeṇhe nmānəm vārəθrayni*  
*hazaṇrō.stūnəm vīdātəm*  
*barəzište paiti barəzahi*  
*haraiθiiō paiti barəzaiiā*  
*x<sup>v</sup>āraošnəm aṇtara.naēmāt*

<sup>592</sup> For *dm* > *nm* see de Vaan (2003: 394-395). For the root see *IEW*. 198-199; *LIV*. 114-115.

<sup>593</sup> My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 145) and Insler (1975: 97), also see Humbach (1991: I, 182).

<sup>594</sup> My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 147) and Insler (1975: 99), also see Humbach (1991: I, 184).

<sup>595</sup> My translation builds on Humbach (1959: I, 154) and Insler (1975: 107), also see Humbach (1991: I, 188).

*stahrpaēsəm ništara.naēmāt*

We ... worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, beautiful, victorious, furthering the world, whose victorious house set separately with a thousand pillars on the highest height on the high Harā (mountain), endowed with its own light from the inner half, adorned with stars, from the outer half.<sup>596</sup>

Vd. 7.15 *āaṭ yezi aṇhaṭ ubdaēniš*  
*xšuuas̥ frasnāḍaiiēn maēsmana gēuš*  
*xšuuas̥ zəmə haṇkanaiiēn*  
*xšuuas̥ āpō frasnāḍaiiēn*  
*xšuuas̥ māṇhō upa.baoḍaiiqn*  
*raocanəm paiti nmānahe*

If (the garment) is woven,  
 six times, they should make (it) clean with the urine of the cow.  
 six times, they should make (it) clean (through the rub) of the earth,  
 six times, they should cause the waters to wash (it).  
 six months, they should air (it)  
 at the window of the house.<sup>597</sup>

Yt10.28 *miθrəm vouru.gaoiiaoitim ...*  
*yō stunā vīdārāiiaeiti*  
*bərəzimitahe nmānahe*  
*staβrā qīθiā kərənaoiti*  
*āaṭ ahmāi nmānāi dadāiti*  
*gēušca vqθβa vīranəmca*  
*yahuua xšnūtō bauuaiti*  
*upa aniiā scindaiieiti*  
*yāhuua tbištō bauuaiti*

(We worship) Miθra having the wide pastures,  
 who arranges the columns  
 of the high-pillared house,  
 (who) makes strong the gatepost.  
 Then, he bestows on the house,  
 the herds of cow and (groups) of men  
 in which he is propitiated.  
 He smashes the other (houses),  
 in which he is provoked.<sup>598</sup>

Moreover, it should be noted that *dam-*,<sup>599</sup> the root noun cognate of *nmāna-*, is also attested in both Avesta and Sanskrit. Considering Greek and Latin, it has been tried to

<sup>596</sup> The text is after Kreyenbroek (1985: 48, 49).

<sup>597</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1886-1896: III, 49).

<sup>598</sup> The text is after Gershevitch (1967: 86-87).

<sup>599</sup> As far as the translation of the Avestan root noun *dam-* is concerned, the Pahlavi interpreters were unaware



differentiate between the meaning of the athematic *\*domh<sub>2</sub>-* and thematic *o-* grade, or *\*dómh<sub>2</sub>os*. However, the results are contradictory and unconvincing.<sup>600</sup> The reason is that the two meanings are easily interchangeable in the texts. Likewise, it is very difficult to argue whether or not the meanings of gen. sg. OAv. *dāng* in *dāng pati-* “master of the house(hold)?” and loc. sg. OAv./YAv. *dām/dāmi* “in the house(hold)?”, all of which derived from the root noun *dam-*, are different from the corresponding genitive Tatpuruṣa compound *nmānō.paiti-* m./*nmānō.paθnī-* f. “master/lady of the house” and loc. sg. YAv. *nmāne* “in the house”, respectively.

Therefore, with some stanzas confirming the meaning of *nmāna-* as “house”, the Avestan *nmānahe pouruśaspahe* is translated as “(you who) belong to the house of Pouruśaspa” in the Avestan original of the present edition.

As far as the relation between the corresponding phrases in the Avestan original and the Pahlavi version is concerned, the Pahlavi translators understood correctly the meaning of *kahiiā ahī*, indentifying ancestry, in Y 43.7, although the gen. sg. *kahiiā* is rendered by pl. *kēān* “whom(s)” following *az* “from”:

Y 43.7P *abzōnīg-im ēdōn tō menīd hē ohrmazd*  
*ka ō man wahman bē mad*  
*pursīd-iz-iš az man kū kē hē ud az kēān hē*  
*čiyōn ān ī rōz daxšag [rōz] ī frāzhampursagīh nimūd estēd*  
*[kū daxšag čiyōn kunam]*  
*ī abar tō gēhān tan rāy [nimūd estēd]*

Thus, I thought you are bountiful to me, O Ohrmazd,  
 when Good Thought came to me.  
 He also asked me that who are you, and from whom(s) are you?  
 How that day, Daxšag [day], of consulting is shown?  
 [that means how should I make the Daxšag?],  
 which is about your world and body [(as) it appears].<sup>601</sup>

From the semantic point of view, the genitive Y 9.13 (=Vd 19.46) *nmānahe pouruśaspahe* is also correctly translated by *andar mān ī poruśasp* rather than *\*ī/az mān ī*

of its original meaning because the loc. sg. *dām* is translated wrongly by Phl. *dahēd* “sets, creates” in Y 45.10 (Dhabhar 1949: 198; Malandra & Ichaporia 2010: 67) and Phl. *dām* “creation” in Y 48.7 (Dhabhar 1949: 211; Malandra & Ichaporia 2010: 77). The Avestan gen. sg. *dāng patōiš* is also misinterpreted as Phl. *dastwar* “authority, priest” which is glossed by *xwadāy* “lord” in Y 45.11 (Dhabhar 1949: 198; Malandra & Ichaporia 2010: 67).

<sup>600</sup> See Benveniste (1969: 239-251); Mallory & Adams (1977: 192-193).

<sup>601</sup> My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 181).

*porušasp* “of/from the house of Porušasp” because the latter interpretations are meaningless.<sup>602</sup>

Y 9.13cP *kē az ōy tō ul zād hē*  
*tō abēzag zardušt*  
*ī man ī porušasp*  
*\*ī/az mān ī porušasp*

which from him, you were born  
 you, O holy Zarathushtra,  
 of/from the house(hold?) of Pourušasp.

Regarding the meaning of Phl. *mān* “house(hold)?”, it translates Av. *nmāna-* with the exception of the Pahlavi version of Old Avestan texts Y 31.16, 18; Y 32.13 in which OAv. *dāmāna-* is rendered by Phl. *daman*. In the Hērbedestān, Av. *nmānahe*, is also rendered by *mēhan* “home” in the Pahlavi version:

HN 1.1 Av. *kō nmānahe aḡaurunəm pāraiiāt*  
 Phl. *kē ō mēhan ī pad āsrōgīh bē rawēd [kū az mēhan ī wehān ō hērbdestān kardan kē šawēd]*

Av. Who of the house should go forth (to pursue) religious studies?  
 Phl. Who (is there belonging) to the house who shall go for the priestly work? [That means: Who should go from the house of good ones to the residence of priests].<sup>603</sup>

Furthermore, Phl. *mān* is also glossed by *xānag* “house” and *mēhan* “home” in the Pahlavi version of the Vīdēvdād and Hērbedestān, respectively, for example:

Vd. 3.2 *dādār ī gēhān ī astōmand ī ahlaw*  
*kū dudīgar ēn zamīg āsāntom*  
*[kū mēnōy ī ēn zamīg āsānīh az čē wēš]*  
*u-š guft ohrmazd*  
*pad ān abar mard ī ahlaw mān ul dād*  
*[kū xānag be kard]*  
*asrōmand gōspandōmand*  
*nārīgōmand pusōmand ud hūramagōmand*

O the righteous creator of the material world,  
 what is the second most comfortable land,  
 [where does the spirit of this earth have more comfort?],

<sup>602</sup> In the Pahlavi version of both Vd 19.4 and 19.46, *andar mān ī porušasp* translates *nmānahe pourušaspahe*. See Anklesaria (1949: 372, 389) and also Moazami (2014: 430, 448). However, as discussed above, it seems that in Vd 19.4, *nmānahe pourušaspahe* is in the genitive relationship with the preceding word.

<sup>603</sup> The text is after Kotwal & Kreyenbroek (1992: Vol. 1, 26-27).

and Ohrmazd said:

On that (land) above which the righteous man sets house forth,  
[that means: (He) made house],  
Having fire, having beneficent animal,  
Having wife, having son and having good flock.<sup>604</sup>

Vd 5.10 *u-š guft ohrmazd kū mān mān wis wis [xānag xānag dastgird dastgird] sē kadag  
ul ē dahēnd ōy rist*

and Ohrmazd said to him that (in) every house, (in) every village [(in) every house,  
(in) every building] they should set up three houses for the dead.<sup>605</sup>

HN 8.3 *ēw yujast az mān-ē [mēhan] ēdōn wis-ē ēw hāsar az zand ēdōn deh*

One Yujast from a house [home], likewise from a village, one Hāsar from the district,  
likewise, from the country.<sup>606</sup>

Therefore, the evidence confirms the meaning of Phl. *mān* as “house as a physical construction” whereas texts are silent about its possible second meaning or “house as a social entity”. As far as the meaning of *nmāna-* in compounds is concerned, the Pahlavi translators also interpreted it as “house as a physical construction”. The reason is that the feminine Av. *nmānō.paθnī-* is equated with *kadag bānūg* “the lady of the house” in the *FīŌ* 77 (Klingenschmitt 1968). Furthermore, while *nmānō.paiti-* is translated by Phl. *mānbed* “master of house(hold)?” in the Yasna,<sup>607</sup> *Vīdēvdād*<sup>608</sup>, *Visperad*,<sup>609</sup> and *Hērbedestān*<sup>610</sup>, it is glossed by *kadag wxadāy* “the lord of the house” in the *Hērbedestān*:

HN 5.1 *kadār pad āsrōgīh mānbed [ī kadag wxadāy]*

Which one (should go to pursue) religious studies, the master of the house [who is the lord of the house]?<sup>611</sup>

<sup>604</sup> The text is after Moazami (2014: 69, 70).

<sup>605</sup> The text is after Moazami (2014: 132-133).

<sup>606</sup> See Kotwal & Kreyenbroek (1992: Vol. I, 50-51). The corrected Phl. *mēhan*, is spelled in the manuscripts as *mdy'n*, (Kotwal & Kreyenbroek 1992: Vol. I, 50 and 50 fn. 241, 51).

<sup>607</sup> See the Pahlavi version of Y 9.27, 13.1, 17.11, 52.2 (Dhabhar 1949: 67, 85, 94, 229).

<sup>608</sup> See the Pahlavi version of Vd 7.41-42, 9.37-38, 10.5, 12.7, 13.20, 18.18-19 (*Anklesaria* 1949: 168, 249, 258, 353, 354, 271 and also Moazami (2014: 200, 286, 296, 312, 328, 406). The Av. *nmānō.pati-* is glossed by *mānbedān mānbed* in Vd 13.20.

<sup>609</sup> See the Pahlavi version of VrP 3.2 (Dhabhar 1949: 300).

<sup>610</sup> See the Pahlavi version of HN 5.1, 3, 4 (Kotwal & Kreyenbroek 1992: 36, 38).

<sup>611</sup> See Kotwal & Kreyenbroek (1992: Vol. I, 38-39). In their editions, Kotwal & Kreyenbroek (1992: Vol. 1, 39), correct the sentence to *kadār pad āsrōgīh [\*be rawēd narīg ayāb] mānbed [ī kadag wxadāy]* probably to correspond to the Avestan original. However, interestingly, in the Pahlavi version, Av. *nairika ... vā in nairika vā nmānō.paitiš vā* “woman or the master of the house” is left untranslated. It may show the change of the tradition according to which women could not pursue religious studies anymore.

In conclusion, according to the evidence, *andar mān ī porušasp* is translated as “in the house of Porušasp” rather than “in the household of Pourušaspa” in the Pahlavi version of the present edition.

**Table 12. Manuscripts readings of *nmāna*-.<sup>612</sup>**

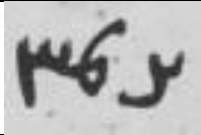


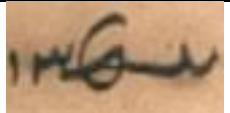
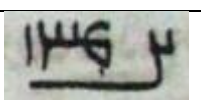
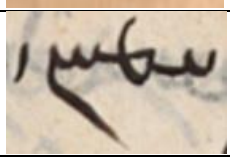
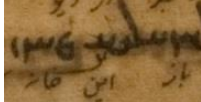
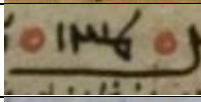

<b>Variants <i>nmāna</i>- ntr. in loc. sg. Case</b>	
<i>nmānahe</i>	VdIrS TU1 fol. 24r line 11, fol. 243v line 10, fol. 250v line 5; VdIrS 977/978 fol. 21v line 18, fol. 244r line 11-12, fol. 251r line 14; VdIrS Ave991 fol. 21v line 14, fol. 223r line 21, fol. 230r line 19; VdIrS Ave1001 fol. 20v line 16, fol. 243v line 10, fol. 250r line 16; VdIrS ML16226 fol. 24r line 10, fol. 249v line 18, fol. 256r line 12; VdIrS RR1 fol. 234v line 20; VdIrS RSPA230 fol. 25r line 4, fol. 227v line 18, fol. 234r line 21; VdIrS ML15283 fol. 26r line 14, fol. 236r line 18, fol. 242v line 13; VdIndS L1 fol. 19r line 7-8, fol. 206v line 13, fol. 213r line 7; VdIndS B2 fol. 15v line 3, fol. 301r line 15; VdIndS M2 fol. 227v line 15, fol. 236v line 8; VdIndS T46 fol. 29v line 12, fol. 362r line 3; VdIndS O2 fol. 28v line 15; VdIndS G112 fol. 254r line 13, fol. 246v line 4; VdIndS K10 fol. 22r line 10, fol. 247v line 9, fol. 255r line 18; VdP Bh11 259v line 2; VdP E10 fol. 159r line 13; YIrS MZK4 fol. 33v line 1; YIrS ML15284 fol. 24r line 5, fol. 25v line 13; YIrS MZK3 fol. 28r line 13; YIrS Nik2 fol. 42v line 12; YIndS K11A fol. 48v line 13; YIndS Lb2 fol. 29r line 14; VrIrS G18b fol. 83r line 12; VrIrS KM4 fol. 24r line 13-14; VrIrS MZK1 fol. 29v line 5; VrIrS DZVr2 fol. 40r line 8; VrIrS MZK2a fol. 36r line 8; YIrP Pt4 fol. 58v line 3; YIrP Mf4 fol. 79r line 2; YIrP G14 fol. 57v line; YIrP T55b fol. 75v line 15; YIndP J2 fol. 87r line 6.
<i>nāmānahe</i>	VdIndS B2 fol. 310v fol. 310v line 12; VdIndS T46 fol. 372r line 8-9; VdP L4 fol. 264r line 10; fol. 280v line 9; VdP K1 fol. 233r line 6; VdP F10 fol. 278r line 12, fol. 294r line 11; VdP G28 fol. 251r line 15, fol. 264v line 10; VdP T44 fol. 303v line 13, fol. 321r line 4; VdP G34 fol. 274r, line 3; VdP B1 fol. 388v line 2, fol. 410v line 3; VdP Bh11 fol. 237v line 7; VdP M3 fol. 265r line 12, fol. 278r line 13; YIndS B3 fol. 34r line 11; YIndS L17 fol. 49v line 3; VrIrS DZVr1 fol. 34v line 10; VrIrS G27 fol. 42r line 7-8; YIndP K5 fol. 65r line 2-3; YIndP M1 fol. 167v line 5.
<i>namānahe</i>	VdIndS Malik6459 fol. 22r line 8; VdIndS G106 fol. 19v line 11, fol. 212r line 8-9; VdIndS B4 fol. 22r line 24, fol. 202v line 3, fol. 208r line 3-4; VdIndS G112 fol. 21v line 5; VdIndS ML630 fol. 21v line 8; fol. 254r, line 16, fol. 262v line 2; VdIndS FIRES1 fol. 19v line 12, fol. 251r line 4-5, fol. 259r line 11, fol. 280v line 9; VdP E10 151r line 4; YIndS G26 fol. 46r line 10; YIrP F2 fol. 56v line 10; YIrP T6 fol. 49r line 5-6; YSkt K6 fol. 78r line 10-11; YSkt S1 fol. 38v line 7 YSkt KM7 fol. 55r line 2-3.
<i>nāmānhi</i>	VdIndS G106 fol. 205v line 14-15.
<i>namānahu</i>	YIndS Bh5 fol. 38v line 15-16.
<i>nmāna</i>	VdIndS Bh3 fol. 19v line 13.
<i>namāne</i>	VdP G25 fol. 109v line 13, fol. 128v line 1.

<sup>612</sup> Source: <http://avesta-archive.com/>.

**5) Line 11 Y 9.13cP** *ast kē jud-dēwīh ī abāz ā-mān gowēd* “there is one who says then, rejecting demons away from us”

Phl. *ast kē jud-dēwīh ī abāz ā mān gowēd* is a commentary occurring at the end of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.13, which has no counterpart in the Sanskrit Yasna.<sup>613</sup> Mills (1903c: 323) translates it as “some (texts) tell us ‘the demon free’ again for him (that is ‘they repeat the word,)”. While he obviously offers a free translation, his interpretation of *mān* as “him” is erroneous. By contrast, Davar (1904: 42) translates it as “There is (someone) who says, ‘being opposed to the demons’ (means keeping them) away from us”. Davar’s reading is based on the Indian manuscripts because *ā-* appears as *𐬀* in their YIrP counterparts:

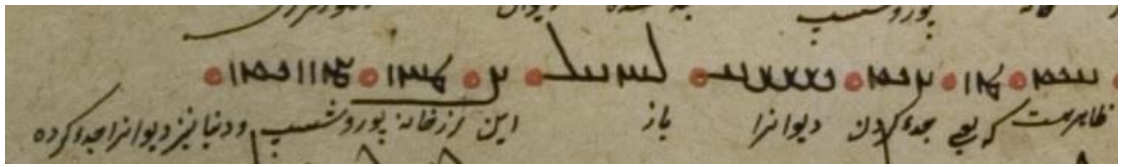
**Figure 45. The variant readings of (𐬀) *mān* in the Iranian and Indian manuscripts.**

YIrP		YInd P	
Pt4 (fol. 58v line 6)		J2 (fol. 87r line 10)	
Mf4 (p. 157 line 6)		K5 (65r line 5)	
G14 (fol. 57v line 6)		M1 (fol. 167v line 12)	
F2 (fol. 56v line 14)		-	-
T6 (fol. 49r line 9)		-	-
T55b (fol. 76r line 5)		-	-

The interlinear New Persian version in F2 shows that *𐬀-mān* was interpreted as *ēn xāna* (خانه این) “this house” by its scribe. In T6, the corresponding New Persian interlinear sentence describes *ast kē jud-dēwīh ī abāz 𐬀-mān gowēd* as:

<sup>613</sup> For the Sanskrit version see Unvala (1924: 23).

Figure 46. YIrP T6 (fol. 49r line 9).



NP. *zāher hast ka ya 'ni juda kardan-ī dēwān-rā bāz ēn az xāna-yī porušasp u dunyā niz dēwān-rā judā karda*

It seems that it means separating demons again. This one has also separated demons from the house of Porušasp and the world.

Like F2, NP. *ēn* appears beneath 𐬨, however, *xāna-yī porušasp u dunyā* “the house of Porušasp and the world” suggests that 𐬨 was also interpreted as two. Moreover, the translation of *mān* as NP. *xāna* shows that the scribes of F2 and T6 (and possibly the copyists of other YIrPs) associated *mān* with the preceding *mān ī porušasp* “house of Porušasp”:

*andar mān ī porušasp  
ī jud-dēw ohrmazd-dādestān  
[ast kē jud-dēwīh abāz 𐬨-mān gōwēd]*

(When you were born Zardušt) in the house of Porušasp  
who rejects demons, who accepts the law of Ohrmazd  
[there is one who says rejecting demons (from) this (these two) house(s)]

However, the interpretation of YIrPs is problematic because while 𐬨 cannot be read as *ēn*, its second interpretation as two does not agree with the context of Y 9.13 which is only about the house of Porušasp in which Zardušt was born. By contrast, interpreting 𐬨 as the conjunction *ā-*, the following (l)𐬨𐬀 would be the enclitic pronoun *-mān* “us”. The reading *mān* also fits the context of *ast kē jud-dēwīh abāz ā-mān gōwēd* which is translated as “there is one who says then, rejecting demons away of us” in the present edition.

#### 4.14 Y 9.14

- 1 (Y 9.14aA)** *srūtō airiene vaējahe*  
**2** *tūm paoirīiō zaraθuštra*  
**3** *ahunəm vairīm frasrāuuaiiō*  
**4** *vībərəθβantəm āxtūirīm*  
**5 (Y 9.14bA)** *aparəm xraoždīehiia frasrūiti*

- 1 (Y 9.14aA)** Famous in Airiana Vaējah,  
**2** you as the first, O Zarduštra!,  
**3** recited Ahuna Vairia  
**4** separating (it) by four pauses  
**5 (Y 9.14bA)** the following (verse) with louder chant

- 1 (Y 9.14aP)** *andar ān ī nāmīg ērānwēz*  
**2** [*kū weh dāitī*]  
**3** *ud tō fradom zardušt*  
**4** *ahunawar frāz srūd*  
**5** [*kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard*]  
**6** *be barišnīh [pad be gōwišnīh] čahār*  
**7** [*tā ō ān ī pas*]  
**8 (Y 9.14bP)** *pad harwisp wāz srāyišnīh [tuxšāgīhā]*

- 1 (Y 9.14aP)** In the famous Ērānwēz<sup>1</sup>,  
**2** [by the good<sup>2</sup> Dāitī]  
**3** and you as the first, O Zardušt!,  
**4** recited the Ahunawar<sup>3</sup>,  
**5** [That means: You performed the Nāwar ceremony]<sup>4</sup>,  
**6** carrying out (the pauses) [in the recitation] four times  
**7** [until the following (verse)]<sup>5</sup>  
**8 (Y 9.14bP)** (carrying out) the recitation for all words<sup>6</sup> [energetically]

#### 1) Line 1 Y 9.14aP *andar ān nāmīg ērānwēz* “in the famous Ērānwēz”

The Phl. *nāmīg* provides the standing translation of the Av. *srūta-*. The Avestan original gives nom. sg. *srūtō* from the stem *srūta-* adj., followed by the loc. case *airiene vaējahe*. By contrast, the Pahlavi translation places the preposition *andar*, expressing location, before *ān ī nāmīg ērānwēz*. As stated by Josephson (1997: 55), the Pahlavi translation also changes the meaning according to which the adj. *nāmīg* describes *ērānwēz* instead of *tō* corresponding to Av. *tūm* in the Avestan original.

## 2) Line 2 Y 9.14aP *weh* “good”

In YIndP J2, *weh* is omitted. However, it is attested in J2 sister manuscript, or K5, and the other collated copies. Therefore, in agreement with the base text, *weh* is employed in the present edition.

## 3) Line 3-4 Y 9.14aP *ud tō fradom zardušt frāz srūd* “and you as the first, O Zardušt!, recited the Ahunawar”

In YIrPs Pt4, G14 and T55b, under the influence of New Persian, the construction of the sentence *ud tō fradom zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd* was changed from the ergative to accusative by the addition of *hē* after *srūd*: *ud tō fradom zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd hē*.

In Vd. 19.2, *zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd* is glossed by *ān ī dō yatāhōwairyō kē hušiti ō pēš kē ēstēd* “the two *yaθā ahū vairiiō* which precedes *hušiti* (= Y 68.14)”. It agrees with the contemporary performance of the Yasna ritual as described by Kotwal & Boyd (1991: 123):

‘The *zōt* continues the sliding gesture of the cup on the mortar’s rim during this recitation which is followed by *y.a.v.*<sup>614</sup> 2, said by both priests in a normal voice. While saying actions (*šyaoθanām*) in each *y.a.v.*, the *zōt* pours some of the mixture over the date-palm cord into the mortar, and then continues the sliding gesture. Y 68.14-18 are recited by the *zōt* alone, the *rāspī* joining him in sts.<sup>615</sup> 19-24 (Y 68.16-19 = Y 8.5-8).’

Therefore, alongside Y 9.1,<sup>616</sup> in the Pahlavi version of Y 9.14 and Vd 19.2, Zardušt is described as a *Zōt*, reciting the Yasna. Furthermore, the agreement between the Pahlavi text and the description of the contemporary performance of the Yasna ritual show the continuity and antiquity of the ritual.

<sup>614</sup> *Y.a.v.* stands for *yaθā ahū vairiiō*.

<sup>615</sup> Sts. stands for stanzas.

<sup>616</sup> See Y 9.1 commentary 2 *ka-š ātaxš gāh kāmist šustan gāhān srāyišnīh* and commentary 3 *ka-š ān ašəm vohū sē guft kē frawarānē ō pēš*.



4) **Line 5 Y 9.14aP** *kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard* “That means: You performed the Nāwar ceremony”

The ergative construction is corrected to its accusative counterpart *kū-t yašt ī nāwar kard hē* under the influence of New Persian in Pt4, G14, T6 and T55b. It is another piece of evidence showing that the Iranian manuscripts are corrected.<sup>617</sup>

As regards Nāwar, in the Zoroastrian tradition, it is the initiation ceremony into the priesthood, lasting four days for which the collective noun *nōg nāwar* “new Nāwar” is used. Prior to the Nāwar ceremony, two priests perform the Yasna ceremony called Gewrā for six consecutive days followed by a four day Nāwar ceremony during which the candidate performs the Yasna as Zōt, while the initiating priest acts as Rāspīg. During the first three days of the Nāwar, the Yasna together with the Bāj and Afringān ceremonies are performed. The first Yasna is dedicated to *minu nāwar* “the spirit Nāwar”. The ceremonies of the second and third days are in honour of Sraoša and Sīrōza, respectively. On the fourth day, the Yasna is replaced by the Visperad ceremony.<sup>618</sup>

As far as the orthography of *nāwar* in Pahlavi is concerned, it is written differently in texts. For example: 𐭥𐭣𐭥 in YIrP Pt4, Mf4, G14, F2, T6 and T55b; 𐭥𐭣𐭥 in the YIndP J2, K5, M1<sup>619</sup> and VrS K7b.<sup>620</sup> In the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, manuscript TD, it appears as 𐭥𐭣𐭥<sup>621</sup> whereas in the Hērbadestān and Nērangestān, both forms 𐭥𐭣𐭥 and 𐭥𐭣𐭥 are attested.<sup>622</sup> The word is usually transcribed as *nāwar*, *nābar* or *naēwar*. In addition, Unvala (1932: Vol. II, 649) gives the reading *nawar*, beside *nābar* and *nāwar* in the Index of his translation of the Persian Rivayat. West (1882: 234) also writes *nābar* in the main text of his translation of the Dādestān ī Dēnīg but he suggests the alternative readings *naēbar* and *nāgbar* in the footnote. While the correct spelling of the Pahlavi word is unclear, in the Zoroastrian New Persian and Sanskrit texts *nāwar* and *nābar* are attested:

Bharuca p. 55. *prathamam ijisnī kṣṇumanī nonāvarāyāh*  
*karaṇam [karanīyā]nonāvarāyā*  
*gvājagrahaṇam ca saptatāyaiḥ*

<sup>617</sup> For correction see section 3.1.

<sup>618</sup> For the Nāwar ceremony see Modi (1922: 201-207); Kotwal (1988: 299-307); Kotwal & Boyd (1991: 139-140).

<sup>619</sup> In addition to Y 9.14, *nāwar* occurs in Y 19.6. The distribution of different readings of *nāwar* in Y 19.6 is similar to that in Y 9.14 among the YIrP and YIndP manuscripts, with the exception of YIndP M1 (fol. 268r line 13), which writes 𐭥𐭣𐭥.

<sup>620</sup> The text on *nāwar* appears after VrIndS (fol. 101v line 14-fol. 104r line15).

<sup>621</sup> For 𐭥𐭣𐭥 see Modi (1922: 199 fn. 2).

<sup>622</sup> Sanjana (1894: 106, 137).

*gāhapamcakam āpi paṭhanīyam  
kṣṇumanaśca nonāvarāyāḥ  
ātravakṣena “rvuaritanaro vācyam āphraṃgānaśca*

First, in the dedication ceremony to the new Nāwar, performance [through performing] of the new Nāwar taking the Bāj and with (the Barsom of) seven twigs, in the watches (of the day) and also the recitation.

It is the dedication to Nōnāvar.

The word xvarata.naro (is to be said) by the Atravakhsh (priest) and the Afringān ...<sup>623</sup>

#### DHR II. 26

کسی نابار داشته باشد و بنادانسته درون نایشته چیزی بخورد او را دیگر بار یشت باید کرد که نابار درست است  
*kas-ē nābar dāšta bāšad-u be-nā-dānista drōn-ē nā-yašta čiz-ē be-xward ō rā  
digar bār yašt bāyad kard ka nābar drust ast*

Whoever has kept the Nābar and unknowingly eats unscared bread, another Yašt ceremony should be performed for him to be the Nābar correct.<sup>624</sup>

Furthermore, in the oral tradition of Iranian Zoroastrians, the corresponding word occurs as *nābar*. For example, in the following folkloric poem, composed in the Zoroastrian Dari dialect:<sup>625</sup>

*nuzād-e mā nunābar-on  
yašt-o yezišn-oš az bar-on  
dunāy-e amr-e dāvaron  
az hovz-e kowsar rahbar-on  
guyid yā numoxodā*

Our new priest is a new Nāwar,  
He has memorised the Yašt and Yazišn.  
He is aware of the command of judges.  
He is a leader from the Kowsar pool.<sup>626</sup>  
Say: O in the name of God [i.e. God may protect him].<sup>627</sup>

To analyse the word, Modi (1922: 199-200), reading *nāwar*, derives it from *nava* “new” attached to the root *bar* “to carry” having the sense of “a new carrier of presents and offerings”. However, the problem with Modi’s suggestion is that the development of *\*naya* > *nā* is unusual because the expected form would be *\*nawbar* > *\*nōbar*.<sup>628</sup> Likewise, it is

<sup>623</sup> My translation.

<sup>624</sup> My translation.

<sup>625</sup> For the poem see Mazdapour ŠNŠ (1990 (1369): 195).

<sup>626</sup> According to the Islamic Hadith, Kowsar is the name of a pool in the heaven (*Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. VIII, p. 286).

<sup>627</sup> My translation.

<sup>628</sup> Modi’s etymology may agree with NP. *nawbar* > *nobar* “first-fruits, young”. However, an etymological

impossible to explain the other suggested readings of the Pahlavi word, or *naēwar* and *nāgwar*, with Modi's suggestion. Furthermore, as stated above, Phl. *nōg* "new", NP/Skt *no* "new", occurs with *nāwar*, making the collective term *nōg nāwar*, describing the four day ceremony. It makes it less likely to expect that two concurrent cognates, or *nā/naē/nāg* "new?" < \**naua* "new" vs. *nōg* "new" < \**naua-ka* "new", in a term show different developments. Modi (1922: 200) also compares *nāwar* with *nawjōt* "the initiation of a child into the Zoroastrian religion". However, in contrast to *nāwar*, both *nawjōt* and its New Persian variant *nozud*, show the regular word development; \**naua* > *naw* > *nō* > *no*. As another possibility, *nāwar* and its other variant readings can be compared with *ahunawar* which is also called the *yaθā ahū vairiō* prayer in the Zoroastrian tradition.<sup>629</sup> In Y 9.14, *yašt ī nāwar* "Nāwar ceremony" is the gloss to *ahunawar*. The relationship between *nāwar* and *ahunawar* is also corroborated by the Pahlavi version of Y 19.6 whose YAv original is a commentary to the Ahunawar prayer composed in Old Avestan:

Y 19.6 *kē andar ān ī man axw ī astōmand spītāmān zardušt*  
*baxtārīh ī ahunawar ošmārēd*  
*[kū ōh sparānēd]*  
*frāz ān ī ošmurēd dranjēnēd*  
*[kū ōy be kunēd]*  
*ud frāz ān dranjēnēd srāyēd*  
*[kū nērang be dānēd]*  
*ud frāz ān srōd yazēd*  
*[kū yašt be kunēd] sē bār*  
*tarist čēhwidarag ān ī ōy ruwān*  
*ō ān ī pahlom axwān frāz widāram man kē ohrmazd-am*  
*[3 andar ān rōz kē yašt nāwar kunēd*  
*ā-š 3 bār ruwān be ō anōh nayam*  
*ud nēkīh pad-iš kunam]*

Whoever in my material word, O Spitāmān Zardušt,  
 reckons the apportioning parts of the Ahunawar  
 [That means: He breaks (its apportioning four parts) in the usual way]  
 He enumerates it, recites it loud  
 [That means: He performs it]  
 and recites it loud forth, sings it,  
 [That means: He knows the incantation]

study on the New Persian words is wanting. Asatrian has published his book entitled *Etymological Dictionary of Persian* very recently which is unavailable in the UK at the moment.

<sup>629</sup> Av. *yaθā ahū vairiū* are the opening words of the Ahunawar prayer whose Avestan text is: *yaθā ahū vairiū aθā ratuš ašāciṭ hacā vaṇhēuš dazdā manajhō śīiaoṇananqm aṇhēuš mazdāi xšaθrəmcā ahurāi ā yim drəgubiiō dadaṭ vāstārəm*. The precise meaning of the hymn is debated. A translation can be: "as temporal lord (is) chosen, so (is) a spiritual lord, according to Truth, (as) an establisher of the works of Good Mind in the world, and the sovereignty is the Ahura Mazdā's, whom they have bestowed on the humble as a shepherd" (Brunner 1985: 683).

and worships that hymn forth.

[That means: He performs the Yasna] three times.

Across the Činwad Bridge, I, who am Ohrmazd, pass his soul forth to the best existences.

[Whoever performs the Nāwar ceremony three times on that day, then, I lead (his) soul three times to there, and I do goodness to him].<sup>630</sup>

Considering the close relationship between the Ahunawar prayer and the Nāwar ceremony, it could be suggested that *nāwar/naēwar/nāgwar* is derived from *ahunawar*. The development *ahunawar* > *nāwar/naēwar/nāgwar* is also explainable by the historical grammar of the Iranian languages. The first change is the well attested omission of the initial *a*. For example in: Phl. *amurdād* > NP. *murdād* “immortality”; MP. *anōšagruwān* “having the imperishable soul” > NP. *nōšīrawān* “having the imperishable soul”; Phl. *abāg* > NP. *bā* “with”. The second development, although less frequent than the former one, is the deletion of the initial *h*, having parallels in MP. *hān* “that” > MP./NP. *ān* “that”; Ir. *\*hacā* “from” > MP./NP. *az* “from”; MP. *hambōyīdan* “to smell” > NP. *anbōyīdan* “to smell”; MP. *hambār* “store” > NP. *anbār* “store”. The final development is the omission of *u* which is attested in MP. *uskārdan* “to consult” > NP. *sigālīdan* “to consult”; MP. *uspurīgistan* “to complete” vs. MP. *spurrīgīstan* “to complete”. Finally, the different suggested vowels *ā*, *a*, *aē*, agree with the different Pahlavi spellings of the word which suggest that while the exact history and meaning of the word are unknown to the Zoroastrian community, the pronunciations are the result of either the local dialects or misreading of the Pahlavi word. Moreover, the reading *nāgwar* can be ruled out because it is only one of West’s suggestions in the footnote based on the obscure Pahlavi orthography and it has no parallel in the primary written non-Pahlavi and oral Zoroastrian literature. In conclusion, the development of *ahunawar* to *nāwar* can be abbreviated as follows:

*ahunawar* > *\*hunawar* > *\*unawar* > *nāwar/naēwar*

With the above developments, the form *nāwar* should be dated very late, being under the influence of New Persian. However, apart from the Yasna, it appears in the classic Pahlavi texts Dādestān ī Dēnīg, Hērbadestān and Nērangestān. Therefore, the second

<sup>630</sup> My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 97). For *kē* in 3 *andar ān rōz kē yašt nāwar kunēd* see Dhabhar (1949: 97, fn. 17).

possibility is to take *nāwar* as the abbreviated form of *ahunawar*, or Av. *ahuna- vairiia-*.<sup>631</sup> It should be noted that abbreviating words/phrases have parallels in the Zoroastrian literature, for example in the Avesta manuscripts Phl. *3 guftan* “to say three” often stands for *3 bār guftan* “to say three times”. Moreover, Phl. *sar* (or *wars*) *ud tan šustan* “to wash head (hair) and body”, corresponding to Av. *frasnaiiānte varāsāsca tanūmca* “they shall wash hair and body” in Vd 8.11, is often given in the abbreviated form *sar šustan* “to wash head” in the Pahlavi texts.<sup>632</sup> The term *pādyāb* “the prelude to the sacred cord (Kusti) ritual” also possibly goes back to *\*pad pādyāb kustī kardan* “doing the sacred cord rite with barrier (purity)” (Boyce 1991: 281).

In conclusion, because of the consensus of the Zoroastrian oral and non-Pahlavi written literature on the reading *nāwar/nābar*, the Pahlavi word is transcribed as *nāwar* in the present edition. However, it should be noted that while the evidence shows that Phl. *nāwar* is closely related to Phl. *ahunawar*, the abbreviation theory, suggested in the present edition, is hypothetical.

As stated before, *Nāwar* ceremony is the initiation into the priesthood which seems to lie in the fact that the *Ahunawar*, or *Yathā Ahū Vairiō* prayer, is associated with different aspects of the priesthood in the Pahlavi translations of the *Ahunawar* prayer:

PRDd 60.1 *zand ī yatāhōwairyō*  
*čiyōn axw kāmag [čiyōn ohrmazd kāmag]*  
*ēdōn radīhā [ud ēdōn dastwarīhā]*  
*az ahlāyīh čegām-iz-ē*  
*[kār ud kirbag kardan ēdōn dastwarīhā kardan*  
*čiyōn ohrmazd abāyēd abzāyēd]*  
*ān-iz wahman dāšn andar kušīšn ī ohrmazd*  
*[kū ān mizd ud pādāšn ī ō wahman dahēnd*  
*ō ōy-iz ōh dahēnd*  
*ast kē ēdōn gōwēd*  
*ēw xwad-iš wahman dahēd]*  
*xwadāyīh ō ohrmazd dād bawēd*  
*[u-š ohrmazd abar tan ī xwēš xwadāy ud pādīšāy kard bawēd]*  
*kē ō driyōšān dahēd wehīgān*  
*[ud parwarišn kū-šān ayārōmandīh ud jādag-gōwīh kunēnd*  
*ast kē ēdōn gōwēd*  
*kū xwadāyīh az ohrmazd kū-š ān pādīšāyīh az ohrmazd*

<sup>631</sup> The development of Av. *ahuna- vairiia-* > Phl. *ahunawar* is irregular because it is expected that Av. *vairiia-* develops to Phl. *wēr* rather than *war/bar*. Therefore, *ahunawar* is to be considered as an Avestan loan word in Pahlavi. Moreover, the Pahlavi form *ahunawar* shows that Av. *ahuna- vairiia-* becomes fused into *\*ahunavariia-*; cf. Av. *ahura- mazdā-* vs. OP. *auramazdā-* and Phl. *ohrmazd*; Av. *aγra- mainiiu-* vs. Phl. *ahriman*. However, it should be noted that the etymology of the word is unknown.

<sup>632</sup> For *sar ud tan šustan* see Boyce (1992: 695).

*ast kē ēdōn gōwēd*  
*kū xwadāyīh ī ohrmazd rawāg kard bawēd]*<sup>633</sup>

The Interpretation of the Ya9ā Ahū Vairiīō prayer:  
 As the will of the lord [as the will of Ohrmazd]  
 is so masterly [and is so priestly]  
 from whatever righteousness  
 [good deeds are to be done, so in priestly fashion to be done,  
 as Ohrmazd (wills), one should increase (them)],  
 which is also the gift of Good Thought within the action of Ohrmazd.  
 [That means: That payment and reward which they give to Good Thought,  
 they give to him in the usual way.  
 There is one who says:  
 Good Thought gives it to himself].  
 Lordship is given to Ohrmazd,  
 [and Ohrmazd is made lord and king over his body]  
 who gives goodnesses to the poor ones  
 [and the nourishment. That means: They perform assistance and intercession.  
 There is one who says:  
 That means: The lordship is from Ohrmazd and his kingship is from Ohrmazd.  
 There is one who says:  
 That means: The lordship of Ohrmazd is made current].<sup>634</sup>

Likewise, in the Pahlavi commentaries to the Ahunawar prayer, it is connected with priesthood:

Y 19.12 *čiyōn frāz anōh guft*  
*[kū xwadāy ud dastwar dārišn čiyōn ēn tis*  
*ēdōn guft čiyōn ēn dādestān ēdōn]*  
*ka-z ō ōy axw ud rad dahēd*  
*[kū tan bē ō ērbadestān dahēd]*  
*ēdōn-iš ō ōy čāšīd bawēd*  
*ohrmazd menišn menīdārīh ī fradōm dām*  
*[kū-š gāhānīk rawāg kard bawēd]*  
*kē ēn [tan ō ōy ī šāhān šāh]*  
*ī az harwisp [mardōm] mahist čāšēd*  
*[kū tan pad šāhan šāh dārēd]*  
*ēdōn ō ōy dahm čāšt bawēd*  
*[kū-š gāhānīgīh rawāg kard bawēd]*

Čiyōn “as”<sup>635</sup> he (Zardušt) said (Ahunawar) forth there  
 [That means: Having the lord and priest is like this thing.  
 He said Ēdōn “so”,<sup>636</sup> “as” this law (is) “so”],  
 when he also sets him (Zardušt) as a lord and spiritual judge.

<sup>633</sup> Edition by Williams (1990: Vol. I, 219-220).

<sup>634</sup> The translation is after Williams (1990: Vol. II, 105). For the Pahlavi translations of the Ahunawar prayer see Cantera (2006: 37-46).

<sup>635</sup> The Pahlavi translation of Av. *ya9ā* “as” in the Ahunawar, or Ya9ā Ahū Vairiīō prayer.

<sup>636</sup> The Pahlavi translation of Av. *a9ā* “so” in the Ahunawar, or Ya9ā Ahū Vairiīō prayer.

[That means: he gives (his) body to the priestly school].  
 So it is taught to him  
 that Ohrmazd's thought is thinking of the first creature,  
 [That means: he will make current the Gāṇic (hymns)]  
 which this (prayer) [the body to the king of kings]  
 teaches that he is the greatest of all [mortals].  
 [It means that he gives his body to the king of kings]  
 (The Ahunawar) is taught to him, the pious one, so.  
 That means that the Gāhānīg Avesta is made current by him].<sup>637</sup>

DkM 822.9-823.2 *dudīgar fragard yatāhōwairyō*  
*abar arzānīg ī pad gētāyīg ud mēnōyīg*  
*nēkīh pad xwadāy*  
*ud +dastwarīh dād pad sālārīh ud dastwarīh awēšān šāyēd*  
*kē abāg astīh ī-š abārīg hunar*  
*kē xwadāyīh ud dastwarīh pad-iš xwēšīhēd*  
*xwad-iz xwadāy ud dastwar dārēd*  
*dōš man zardušt tō pad axwīh ud radīh*  
*čiyōn hē zardušt axwōmand radōmand*  
*kū tō-iz pad dastwarīh dārēnd*  
*čiyōn tō ēg frāz rasišnīh*  
*hād kū be bōxtē*  
*ka-t abāg dēwān hamrasišnīh kū-t abāg ahlamōgān paykār*  
*hād ud xwadāy ud dastwar nē dārīh*  
*ay nē dārīh xem dād ī dēwān būd*  
*ud dāstan ī ohrmazd amahraspandān pad xwadāy ud dastwar*  
*ud ohrmazd xwadāy abāg dādārīh hambūd*  
*ēn-iz kū pad ahlāyīh rad pad kāmāg*  
*ud xwadāy dānāg ud dādār ud prawardār ud āsnīdār ī driyōšān*  
*ud drōdmānīgīh ī hamāg awēšān*  
*kē dēn kē az zardušt padirēd*  
*ahlāyīh ābādīh ast pahlom*

The second chapter is Yaṯā Ahū Vairiō  
 (It is) about the worth which is in the spiritual and material (worlds).  
 (It is about) goodness to the lord,  
 and (the lord) created priesthood for authority and priesthood is suitable to them  
 who are with the existence of his other virtues,  
 who, by them, lordship and authority are owned.  
 (who) also has a lord and priest himself.  
 My dear Zardušt! You are in the lordship and spiritual judgement (position),  
 because you, Zardušt, are provided with authority, are provided with spiritual  
 judgement.  
 That means: they also have you for the authority  
 when, you, then, arriving forth.  
 That means you would save (them),  
 when you arrive against demons and fight heretics.  
 That means: (those) having no lord and priest.  
 That is: non-having was the law and character of the demons,

<sup>637</sup> My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1949: 99-100).



and having Ohrmazd and Amahraspandāns as the lord and priest,  
and Ohrmazd is the lord together with creatorship (as his feature).  
This is also that he is the spiritual judge righteously (and) willingly  
and (he is) the lord, wise and creator and nourisher and purifier of the needy people,  
and (the reason for) the maintenance of the health of all of them,  
who accept the religion from the Zardušt.  
Righteousness is the best prosperity.<sup>638</sup>

To sum up, according to the Pahlavi literature, the Ahunawar prayer is about priesthood  
whose related ceremony is called *yašt ī nāwar* “Nāwar ceremony”. It describes why the  
Nāwar ceremony is the name of the initiation ceremony in Zoroastrianism.

The close relationship between Nāwar and the Ahunawar prayer can also cast light on  
the concept of the obscure Minu Nāwar which is described as a spirit being called Nāwar.  
In the Pahlavi literature, the Ahunawar is the spirit of the Yaθā Ahū Vairiō:

*IrBd 1.50 ohrmazd az stī rōšnīh rāst gōwišnīg  
ud az rāst gōwišnīh abzōnīgīh ī dādār paydāg būd  
dām dahišnīh  
čē-š asar kirb az asar rōšnīh frāz brēhēnīd  
dām ī hamāg andar asar kirb be dād  
asar kirb zaman sazišnīg jud būd  
az asar kirb ahunawar frāz būd mēnōy ī yatāhōwairyō*

Ohrmazd (created) from the existence of light the true-speech,  
and from the true speech the bountifulness of the creator was revealed  
which is the creation of creature,  
because he set forth the endless body (form) from the endless light.  
He created all creatures in the endless body (form).  
The endless body was separated from the passing time.  
From the endless body arose the Ahunawar which is the Spirit of Yaθā Ahū Vairiō.<sup>639</sup>

Moreover, in the Avesta, The power of the Ahunawar prayer, recited by Zaraθuštra, is  
compared with house-sized stones:

*Yt 17.20 jaiṇti mąm ahuna vairiia auuauuata snaiθiša  
yaθa asma katō.masā  
tāpaiieiti mąm aša vahišta  
mąnaiien ahe yaθa aiaoxšustəm  
raēkō mē haca aījhā zēmō vaījhō kərənaoiti  
yō mąm aēuuō jāmaiieiti  
yō spitāmō zaraθuštrō*

He smashes me (the Evil Spirit) with Ahuna Vairiia as the weapon

<sup>638</sup> My translation.

<sup>639</sup> The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 16-17).



as the stone of a length of a house.  
 He makes me hot with Best Truth  
 like the molten brass.  
 He made it better for me to withdraw from the world,  
 who causes me to retreat,  
 who is Zaraθuštra Spitāma.<sup>640</sup>

These stones are also regarded as the spirit of Yaθā Ahū Vairiō in the Pahlavi literature:

Vd 19.4P *ul ēstād zardušt frāz raft zardušt*  
*az afsarišnīh ī akōman*  
*[ka-š akōman pad tan afsard estēd]*  
*pad ān ī xrōšd bēš pursišn*  
*[pad ān pursišn ōwōn saxt ī ōy rāy kard estēd*  
*ast kē ēdōn gōwēd*  
*ay u-š afsard ka ān ī xrōšd bēš pursīd]*  
*u-š sag pad dast dāšt ī kadag masāy būd ahlaw zardušt*  
*[sag ī sagēn ast kē mēnōy yatāhōwairyō gōwēd]*  
*kē-š windīd az dādār ohrmazd*  
*kū ān dāšt pad ēn zamīg ī pahn ud gird ī dūrwidarag*  
*pad dārāja zibāl andar mān ī porušasp*  
*[ast kē ēdōn gōwēd*  
*ōy dāšt pad ēn zamīg and pahn ī gird ī dūrwidarag*  
*u-š ān ī gyāg dāšt pad dārāja zibāl andar mān ī porušasp]*

Up stood Zardušt, Zardušt approached  
 because of the frigidness of Akōman  
 [when Akōman is frozen in body]  
 because of the hard, hostile questions  
 [because of the so hard question which he asked him,  
 there is one who says:

Note: He froze Akōman when he asked the hard, hostile (questions)],  
 and he, the righteous Zardušt, had a stone in hand which was the size of a stone.  
 [The stony stone. There is one (who says), it was the spirit of Yaθā Ahū Vairiō],  
 which he acquired from the creator Ohrmazd,  
 that he had it on the wide, round earth whose borders lie apart  
 on (the bank of) the swift Drējā (river), in the house of Porušasp.  
 [There is one who says:  
 He held (stone) on the wide, round earth whose borders lie apart,  
 and he had a place on (the bank of) the swift Drējā (river), in the house of  
 Porušasp.]<sup>641</sup>

DkM 632.15-633.8 *zardušt ahunawar frāz srūd*  
*druz ō ōy stard*  
*abāz dwārīd hēnd but dēw ud sēz ī nihān rawišnīh ī frēftār*  
*ud druz ō (ōy)<sup>642</sup> dawist<sup>643</sup> hēnd*

<sup>640</sup> My translation.

<sup>641</sup> My translation builds on Anklesaria (1949: 372) and Moazami (2014: 431).

<sup>642</sup> ōy is absent in Madan's edition.

<sup>643</sup> Both of the verbs *dwārīd* and *dawist*, spelt as *dwb 'lyt'* (DkM 632.16) and *dwst'* (DkM 632.17), respectively,

*kū tarnigerišn hē gannāg mēnōy*  
*kū tis pad čim bē nē nigerē*  
*ud ān framāyīn kardan nē šāyēd*  
*nē mān ān ī ōy ōš abar dīd kē spitāmān zardušt*  
*az purr xwarrahīh ahlaw zardušt pad menišn abar dīd*  
*kū dēw ī druwand dušdānāg pad ān ī man ōš hampursēnd*  
*ud ul awistād zardušt frāz raft zardušt*  
*anōh paydāgīhist wuzurg abdīh ō wasān*  
*pad ān ī gōwēd kū*  
*u-š sang frāz dād*  
*dast dāšt ī kadag masāy būd ahlaw zardušt*  
*kē-š windīd ēstād az dādār ohrmazd mēnōy yatāhōwairiō*  
*ud ēw ēd ī nē ēwāz andar ērān šahr ō ērān be andar wisp būm*  
*ud ō har srāyag paydāgīhist*  
*škastanī dēwān kāl bod*  
*frāz abesrāyīšnīh ī zardušt ahunawar*

Zardušt chanted the Ahunawar prayer,  
 The deceit was stunned because of it,  
 the deceiver demons But and Sēz, who proceed in concealment, ran back,  
 and the deceits ran to him.  
 That means: You are observing with arrogance O Evil Spirit!  
 That means: You do not look at the affair(s) with reason.  
 It is not worth doing what you order.  
 We did not see the death of him who is Zardušt.  
 Because of full-Glory, the righteous Zardušt saw in (his) thought  
 that the deceitful, foolish evil demon consulted about my death  
 and Zardušt stood upward, Zardušt approached.  
 There, a miracle was revealed to many  
 about which it is said that  
 and he was given forth a stone.  
 The righteous Zardušt had (the stone) in hand which was house-sized,  
 he acquired from the creator Ohrmazd, the spirit of Yaθā Ahū Vairiō.  
 And one (other miracle) is that the break of the form of demons because of the recitation  
 of Ahunawar by Zardušt was revealed not only in the land of Iran, to Iranians but  
 also in all lands.<sup>644</sup>

Therefore, it seems that Minu Nāwar should be identified with the *mēnōy ahunawar* “the spirit Ahunawar” and the Yasna in honour of the Minu Nāwar is actually a dedication to the spirit of Yaθā Ahū Vairiō.

As far as the time of the performance of the Nāwar ceremony by Zardušt is concerned, as mentioned above, according to the Dēnkard VII, the stories of the recitation of the Ahunawar prayer by Zardušt and the stone-like Yaθā Ahū Vairiō-s, thrown against the demons by him, took place consecutively. According to the tradition, these two events

mean “ran”. See MacKenzie (1971: 25, 29).

<sup>644</sup> My translation.

occurred during the ten years when Zardušt, between the age of 30-40 years old, consulted seven times with Ohrmazd.<sup>645</sup>

In the Avesta, Zaraθuštra (Y 19.12; Y 27.13; Yt 13.91-92, 152; Vd 2.43; Vr. 2.4) and Ahura Mazdā (Y 27.1; Vr 2.4; 11.21) are regarded as Av. *ahu-* “lord” and Av. *ratu-* “(spiritual) judge”, corresponding to the same words in the Ahunawar prayer; *yaθā ahū vairiū aθā ratuš ašātciṭ hacā ...*. While Zaraθuštra is the lord and judge of the material world according to Yt 13.91, 152 and Vd 2.43, Ahura Mazdā is described as the greatest, lord and judge in Y 27.1 and Vr 11.21. However, in Vr 2.4, Zaraθuštra and Ahura Mazdā are compared together as the lord and judge of the material and spiritual world, respectively:

Vr 2.4 *ahmiia zahoθre barəsmanaēca*  
*θβqm ratūm āiiese yešti yim ahurəm mazdqm*  
*mainiiaom mainiiaiauanqm dāmanqm mainiiaoiā stōiš*  
*ahūmca ratūmca*  
*ahmiia zaoθre barəsmanaēca*  
*θβqm ratūm āiiese yešti yim zaraθuštrəm spitāməm*  
*gaēθīm gaēθiianqm dāmanqm gaēθiiaiiā stōiš*  
*ahūmca ratūmca*

At this libation and by the sacrificial straws,  
 I wish to come in this worship to you, the lord Ahura Mazdā,  
 the lord and the spiritual judge of the spiritual creatures of the spiritual existence.  
 At this libation and by the sacrificial straws,  
 I wish to come in this worship to you, Zaraθuštra Spitāma,  
 the material lord and the spiritual judge of the material creatures of the material existence.<sup>646</sup>

Therefore, in Zoroastrianism, Ahura Mazdā as the greatest lord and judge is also the lord and judge of the spiritual creation. By contrast, Zaraθuštra is the lord and judge of the material creation.

##### 5) Line 7 Y 9.14aP *tā ō ān ī pas* [until the following (verse)]

In YIrP Pt4, Mf4, F2 and T55b, is attested *tā ān* which like *tā* means “until”.<sup>647</sup> By contrast, *ān* is absent in the old YIndP J2, K5 and YIrP G14, T6 of the Hōšang Syāwaxš-line.<sup>648</sup> In the present edition in agreement with the old YIndP J2 and K5, *tā* is employed.

<sup>645</sup> For the mythical life of Zaraθuštra see Amouzgar & Tafazzoli (1991 (1371): 47-49).

<sup>646</sup> My translation. Edition by Geldner (1889: II, 6).

<sup>647</sup> For *tā* see Nyberg (1974: 189-190).

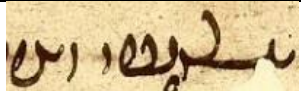
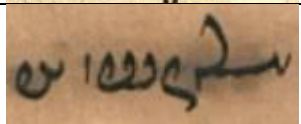
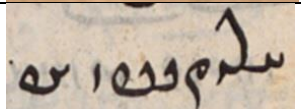
<sup>648</sup> Manuscripts which descend from a copy completed by Hōšang Syāwaxš in AY 864. The collated manuscripts Pt4, Mf4, G14 and T6, studied in the present edition, contain the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš. For a discussion see section 2.1.

As regards *ō*, it is omitted in YIrP G14 and T6 but it is present in the other YIrPs and YIndPs in agreement with which *ō* is employed in the present edition.

**6) Line 8 Y 9.14b** *pad harwisp wāz srāyišnīh* “(carrying out) the recitation for all words”

The Pahlavi translation of Av. *aparəm xraoždīehiia frasrūiti* “(you recited) the following (verse) with louder chant” is edited as *pad harwisp wāz srāyišnīh* in the present edition. Mills (1900: 527) edits *pavan*<sup>649</sup> *khrozdyeek? frāz srāyišnīh*. He also translates it as “with a firm intonation” (Mills: 1903c: 323). Reading *pavan khrujdis? frāz srāyišnīh*, Davar (1904: 20) translates it as “with a deep chant”. Josephson (1994: 54-55) edits *frāz xrōzd srāyišnīh* “chanted with loudness”. As for the readings of the collated manuscripts, while *harwisp wāz* is replaced by *xrōšd frāz (hlwšd pl’c)* in YIrPs, YIndPs show the following variations:

**Figure 47. The variant readings of *harwisp wāz* in YIndPs.**

J2 (fol. 87v line 3)	
K5 (fol. 65r line 11)	
M1 (fol. 168r line 13)	

In J2, Mihrābān Kayhusraw apparently reads the first word as *harwisp*. By contrast, it seems that he corrected *harwisp* in K5 by adding *c* after *hlw* to correspond to Av. *xraoždīehiia*. The second word should be *wāz* “word” although in K5, probably due to scribal correction, *w* is either omitted or interpreted as the final stroke in *hlwcsp’*. The erroneous correction in K5 suggests that Mihrābān Kayhusraw understood that *xraoždīehiia* is left untranslated and as a result, he tried to edit *harwisp* to correspond to the original Avestan word. Regarding the Iranian manuscripts, *harwisp* is replaced by *xrōšd*. Although in Vd 19.4 *xrōšd*, translating *xrūždīia*- “difficulty, trouble” means “difficult, hard”,<sup>650</sup> it seems that in the Iranian Pahlavi manuscripts it is interpreted as “loud” to correspond to *xraoždīehiia*. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, the spellings of

<sup>649</sup> It corresponds to *pad* in MacKenzie’s system of transcription.

<sup>650</sup> See Moazami (2014: 430, fn2 and 553).

YIndP K5, M1 are obviously wrong. Between the readings of J2 and YIrPs, the performance of the Yasna ritual, as described by Kotwal & Boyd (1991: 123), agrees with the reading of J2 because as mentioned in the commentary 3 on *ud tō fradom zardušt frāz srūd*, Zardušt is described in Vd 19.2, corresponding to Y 9.1, 14, 15,<sup>651</sup> as a Zōt, reciting the Ahunawar prayer which precedes *hušiti* (= Y 68.14). During this recitation in the Yasna ritual, Zōt and Rāspī should chant the Ahunawar prayer in normal voice. Therefore, editing *pad harwisp wāz srāyišnīh*, the sentence is translated as “(carrying out) the recitation for all words” in the present edition.

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<sup>651</sup> Vd 19.2P *zarduxšt ahunawar frāz srūd* [ān ī dō yatāhōwairyō kē hušiti ō pēš kē ēstēd] *u-š āb ī weh frāz yazīd kē weh dāiti u-š dēn ī mazdēsnān franāft* [kū-š frauuarāne kard] *druz az ōy stard abāz dwārīd hēnd būt dēw ud sēj ī nihān-rawiśn ī frēftār* “Zardušt recited Ahunawar [the two *yaθā ahū vairiiō* which precedes *hušiti*]; he sacrificed to the good waters of the good Dāiti and he professed the Mazdayasnian religion [That means: He recited *Frauuarānē*]. Stunned Deceit, ran away from him, the demon Būiti and Sēj, moving stealthily, (and) deceitful.” (The text is after Moazami 2014: 428-429).

## 4.15 Y 9.15

**1 (Y 9.15aA)** *tūm zəmərgūzō ākərənauuō*  
**2** *vīspe daēuua zaraθuštra*  
**3** *yōi para ahmāt vīrō.raoða*  
**4** *apataiiən paiti āiia zəmə*  
**5 (Y 9.15bA)** *yō aojištō yō tañcištō*  
**6** *yō θβaxšištō yō āsištō*  
**7** *yō as vərəθrajqstəmō*  
**8** *abauuaṭ mañiiuuā dāmən*

**1-2 (Y 9.15aA)** You, O Zaraθuštra, made all the demons hide in the earth,  
**3** who previously, in human shape,  
**4** appeared on this earth.  
**5 (Y 9.15bA)** (Zaraθuštra) who was the strongest, the mightiest,  
**6** the most vigorous, the swiftest,  
**7** the most victorious  
**8** of the creation of the two spirits.

**1 (Y 9.15aP)** *tō andar zamīg nigān kard hēnd*  
**2** *harwisp dēw zardušt*  
**3** *kē pēš az ān wīr-ārōyišn*  
**4** *padīd hēnd abar pad ēn zamīg*  
**5** [*pad dēw kirbīh*  
**6** *hād har ān kē tan mēnōy tuwān būd kardan*  
**7** *ā-š kālbod be škast*  
**8** *ān kē nē tuwān būd kardan*  
**9** *xwad be škast*  
**10** *kālbod be škast ēd kū*  
**11** *az frāz pad dēw kirbīh wināh nē tuwān būd kardan*  
**12** *tā pad stōr kirbīh ud mardōm kirbīh nūn-iz ōh kunēd]*  
**13 (Y 9.15bP)** *kē ōzōmand hē kē tagīg hē*  
**14** *kē tuxšāg hē kē tēz hē*  
**15** *ast kū pērōzgartar*  
**16** *dād ēstē az ān ī mēnōyān dām*  
**17** [*az dām ī mēnōyān xwēš]*

**1-2 (Y 9.15aP)** You made all the demons buried in the earth, O Zardušt!  
**3** who previously, having the shape of humans,  
**4** appeared on this earth,  
**5** [in the form of demons,<sup>1</sup>  
**6** that is: Every spiritual one who was able to assume a body,  
**7** then, he (Zardušt) broke his shape.  
**8** That one who was not able to do this [i.e. demons who were incapable of assuming a spiritual body]  
**9** he (Zardušt) broke (it) [i.e. demon] itself.<sup>2</sup>  
**10** Breaking the shape means this that<sup>3</sup>  
**11** thenceforth, it was not possible (for them) to perform offence in the form of demons,

**12** so that in the form of cattle and in the form of human, even now, someone could perform (evil) in the usual way.]

**13 (Y 9.15bP)** You (O Zardušt) who are strong, who are brave,

**14** who are diligent, who are swift.

**15-16** It is that<sup>4</sup> you have been created as the more victorious among the creation of the spirits<sup>5</sup>

**17** [among his creations<sup>6</sup> of the spirits.]

**1) Line 5 Y9.15aP** *pad dēw kirbīh* “in the form of demons”

Regarding the word formation of *kirbīh*, it is an abstract noun from *kirb* “form” whose abstract form seems to denote the collective sense, or all forms (of demons).<sup>652</sup> In Y 9.14, Zarduštra is described as the first mortal who recited the Ahunawar prayer and according to Y 9.15, he made all the demons hide in the earth. Yt 19.81 which corresponds to Y 9.14-15, mentions that Zarduštra’s feat of driving the demons underground was achieved through the recitation of the Ahunawar prayer:

Yt 19.81 *āaṭ tē aēuuō ahunō vairiīō*  
*yim aṣauua zarduštrō frasrāuuaiṭ*  
*vī.bərəθəntəm āxtūirīm*  
*aparəm xraoždīehiia frasrūiti*  
*zəmərgūzō auuazaṭ vīspe daēuua*  
*aiiesniia auuahmiia*

But a single Ahuna Vairiia (Prayer)  
 which truthful Zarathushtra recited  
 divided four times into sections,  
 the last (section) with louder recitation,  
 drove all demons, which are  
 unworthy of veneration, unworthy of praise, under the earth.<sup>653</sup>

In the Pahlavi commentary of Y 9.15, Zardušt is said to break the form of demons. Other sections of the Pahlavi literature confirm that breaking the form of demons was achieved through the recitation of the Ahunawar prayer. For example:

DkM 633. 7-8 *škastan ī dēwān kālboḍ*  
*frāz abesrāyišnīh ī zardušt ahunawar*

The break of the form of demons  
 because of the recitation of Ahunawar by Zardušt (was revealed not only in the land

<sup>652</sup> For the usage of the *-īh* abstract suffix in forming nouns with the collective sense see Durkin-Meisterernst (2014: 177, §348).

<sup>653</sup> Edition by Hintze (1994b: 36).

of Iran, to Iranians but also in all lands).<sup>654</sup>

The commentary of Y 9.15 distinguishes two types of demons:

- 1) Demons who could transform their material body into the spiritual form: Y 9.15aP6 *har ān kē tan mēnōy tuwān būd kardan* “every spiritual one who was able to assume a body”;
- 2) Demons who were incapable of changing their material form into the spiritual shape: Y 9.15aP8 *ān kē nē tuwān būd kardan* “That one who was not able to do this”.

The difference between the two types of demons, attested in Y 9.15, is that those of the first group could not commit offence in their demonic bodies after the recitation of the Ahunawar prayer by Zardušt: *az frāz pad dēw kirbīh wināh nē tuwān būd kardan* “thenceforth, it was not possible (for them) to perform offence in the form of demons”. However, they are still able to do evil in the body of humans and animals: *tā pad stōr kirbīh ud mardōm kirbīh nūn-iz ōh kunēd* “so that in the form of cattle and in the form of human, even now, someone could perform (evil) in the usual way”. By contrast, the demons of the second group were destroyed through the recitation of Ahunawar by Zardušt: *xwad bē škast* “(Zardušt) broke the self (of the demons)”. These two types of demonic bodies and their respective fate are shown in the below table:

Types of demonic bodies	Fate after the recitation of the Ahunawar prayer by Zarduštra
1) Transformable from the material form into the spiritual shape.	Continued their offences through hiding in the body of animals and humans.
2) Non-transformable from the material form into the spiritual shape.	Destroyed.

A similar, but a shorter text, takes place in Sad dar Nasr Bundahišn as follows:

SdBd 3.5-6

- و چون زرتشت اسفندتمان دین بجهان آورد و آشکاره کرد قالب دیوان بیکباره بشکست و در زیر زمین شدند اکنون که گناهی خواهند کرد برکردار و مانند آدمیان نتوانند شدن مگر بر صورت خر و گاو و مانند این
- 5) *va čōn zartušt isfantamān dēn ba jahān āvard-u āškāra kard qālib-ī dēvān ba yakbāra be šikast-u dar zir-ī zamīn šūdand*
- 6) *aknūn ka gunāh-ē xvāhand kard bar kardār-u mānand-ī ādamiyān natuvānand šudan magar bar surat-ī xar-u gāv-u mānand-ī ēn*

5) and since Zartušt Spitāman brought the Religion to the world and revealed it,

<sup>654</sup> My translation.



suddenly the shape of the demons was broken and they went beneath the earth.

6) If they want to commit an offence now they cannot act as humans and become like them but (they can commit an offence) in the shape of donkey and cow and suchlike.<sup>655</sup>

The text of SdBd 3.5-6 slightly differs with the corresponding Pahlavi commentary in Y 9.15 as in SdBd 3.5-6 it is stated that the demons can only do evil in the body of animals while in Y 9.8 it is attested that the demons can penetrate the bodies of both humans and animals.

While the passages just quoted indicate that demons exist in material form, other Zoroastrian texts are more ambiguous about this question. According to IrBd 1.46, Ohrmazd created the material world from his Material Light, or *gētīy rōšnīh*. Furthermore, according to the Pahlavi literature the beneficent material creation is described as compounded, visible and tangible, developed from the uncompounded, invisible and intangible spiritual creation. By contrast, as far as Ahriman is concerned, some Pahlavi texts clearly state that he has no material creation. This is so because of the cold and dry power of his spiritual creation, incapable of becoming compound which is the prerequisite of the material world.<sup>656</sup> However, elsewhere the mis-creation of the material antagonist of the material creation of Ohrmazd is attributed to Ahriman. For example, in opposition to *gētīy rōšnīh*, Ahriman created his creatures from the Material Darkness, or *gētīy tārkih*:

IrBd 1.47. *gannāg mēnōy az gētīy tārīkīh ān ī xwēštan dām frāz kirrēnīd  
pad wazag kirb ī siyāh ī adurestarēn ī tom arzānīg ī druwand  
čiyōn bazag axwtar xrafstar*

The Evil Spirit mis-created from the Material Darkness his own creation in the form of a frog, black, ashy, worthy of darkness, (and) evil like the most offence-natured noxious animal.<sup>657</sup>

In addition, there is an opposition between the material Deceit and the material Yazds (IrBd 5.3).<sup>658</sup> The problem of the existence of a material creation of Ahriman becomes even clearer when one considers the fact that the Avesta, too, mentions material negative antagonists of the good material creations. Examples include the corn-bearing ants that were produced by Anra Mainiiu as the evil counter-creation to the fourth land created by Ahura

<sup>655</sup> My translation.

<sup>656</sup> For the non-existence of the evil material creation see Shaked (1967: 227-234); Gnoli (1995: 216-218).

<sup>657</sup> The text is after Cereti & Mackenzie (2003: 39).

<sup>658</sup> See Anklesaria (1956: 56-57).

Mazdā, or Bactria (Av. *bāxδī-*) (Vd 3.19).<sup>659</sup> Other evil material creations include the man devouring, horse devouring horned dragon (Y 9.8, Yt 19.40),<sup>660</sup> the mis-creation of the dragon Gaṇḍarəṣa against the world of Truth (Yt 19.41),<sup>661</sup> that of the dragon Dahāka against the Fire (Yt 19.46-50)<sup>662</sup>. However, according to Shaked (1967: 233) the evil material creation is ‘a purely negative concept, lacking substance, and thus not evidence of material creation, unlike light’.

The accounts of creation in the Pahlavi literature provides further insights into the nature of the body of demons. A feature of Ahriman’s evil creation that it is secondary to Ohrmazd’s beneficent creation. Thus, in IrBd 1.33, the creation is viewed as:

IrBd 1.33 *dām dahišnīh mēnōyīhā gōwam ud pas gētīyīhā*

I shall speak of the creation spiritually and then materially.<sup>663</sup>

The above passage shows that the creation is divided into two categories; spiritual and material. A short description of the spiritual and material creations is given in IrBd 1.53:

IrBd 1.53 ... *u-š dām ī mēnōy mēnōyīhā dārēd*

*u-š dām ī gētīy mēnōyīhā dād*

*u-š did bē ō gētīg dād ...*

... and he (Ohrmazd) maintains the spiritual creation, spiritually.

And the material creation, he (Ohrmazd) created spiritually,

and then again he (Ohrmazd) produced it for the material world ...<sup>664</sup>

The text of Bd 1.53 states that the spiritual creation was created in the spiritual stage while the material creation was produced in two distinct stages; first, the spiritual stage and second, the material state.<sup>665</sup> It seems that the creation of *amahraspandān* “Life-giving Immortals” demarcates the spiritual creation and the spiritual stage of the material creations:

IrBd 1.53 ... *az dām ī gētīy*

*ī pad mēnōy dād*

*nazdist šaš*

*ān ī haftom xwad būd čē ohrmazd ...*

<sup>659</sup> See Hintze (2014b: 234).

<sup>660</sup> See Pirart (2007: 172).

<sup>661</sup> The opposition is my interpretation according to the context of Yt 19.41.

<sup>662</sup> See Pirart (2007: 32, fn 21).

<sup>663</sup> The text is after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 36).

<sup>664</sup> The text is after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 40).

<sup>665</sup> See Molé (1959: 443); Shaked (1971: 66); Hintze (2009a: 59).

... from the creations of the material world,  
 he (Ohrmazd) created in the spirit,  
 next, the six (Amahraspands),  
 the seventh was himself ...<sup>666</sup>

These Amahraspands are Wahman, Ardawahišt, Šahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordād and Amurdād (IrBd 1.53a). Moreover, Ohrmazd is regarded as the seventh Amahraspand (IrBd 1.53, 53a). They oppose *kamālīgān dēwān* “Chief Demons” whose names are listed in IrBd 1.55 as Akōman, Indar, Sawar, Nānghē9 (or Tarōmad), Tarwiz, Zērīz and Ahriman as the seventh.<sup>667</sup> Likewise, in the Zoroastrian New Persian literature, Amahraspandān and Kamālīgān Dēwān are categorised as the opposing beings of the material creation:

SdBd 1.1

... و هفت دیو اندر گیتی بداد ...  
 و هر يك ضد و همستاری امشاسفندان است

... *u haft dēw andar gētīy be dād ...*  
*u har yak zidd-u hamēstārī-yī amšāsfandān ast*

and he (the Evil Spirit) created seven demons in the material world ...  
 and each one is for the antagonism and opposition against the Life-giving Immortals.<sup>668</sup>

In the first chapter of the Bundahišn, the spiritual creations of Ohrmazd and Ahriman are not symmetrically opposed to one another at the time before Ohrmazd’s creation of *gētīy rōšnīh* “Material Light (IrBd 1.44)<sup>669</sup> and Ahriman’s *gētīy tārkīh* “Material Darknes” (IrBd 1.47). Before *gētīy rōšnīh*, Ohrmazd fashioned forth *nēk rawišnīh* “Goodness” (IrBd. 1.35), *zamān* “Time” (IrBd 1.36), *zamān ī dagrand-xwadāy* “Time of long dominion” (IrBd 1.39),<sup>670</sup> *asazišnīh* “Imperishability” (IrBd 1.39), *axwārīh rawišnīh* “unblissfulness (of demons)” (IrBd 1.39) and *mēnōy ī abewardišnīh* “Spirit of Immutability” (IrBd 1.39).<sup>671</sup> By contrast, the texts are not only silent about Ahriman’s counter-creation before *gētīy tārkīh* but also display further asymmetry between the opposing beneficent *nēk rawišnīh* “Goodness” and evil *duš rawišnīh* “Evilness” in so far as Ohrmazd’s creation of *nēk rawišnīh* “Goodness” (IrBd. 1.35) occurs before the creation of *gētīy rōšnīh* (IrBd. 1.44):

<sup>666</sup> The text is after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 40). For similar examples see Shaked (1971: 65-66, 77, 82).

<sup>667</sup> See Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 40-41).

<sup>668</sup> My translation. Edition by Dhabhar (1909: 70).

<sup>669</sup> See Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 38).

<sup>670</sup> For discussion on time in Middle Persian and its two different kinds; *akarānag* “infinite” (Time)”, or *dagrand-xwadāy* “(Time of) long dominion” and *karānag* “finite (Time)” see Rezania (2010: 105-148).

<sup>671</sup> See Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 37).

IrBd. 1.35 *u-š nazdist yazdān xwadīh dād nēk rawiśnīh*  
*ān ī mēnōy ī-š tan ī xwēš pad-iš weh be kard ...*

and next he created the essence of Yazds, Goodness,  
 that spirit by which he made himself better ...<sup>672</sup>

By contrast, in the opposing camp, the creation of the antagonistic *duš rawiśnīh* “Evilness” (IrBd 1.49) takes place after the creation of *gētīy tārīkīh* “Material Darkness” (IrBd 1.47):

IrBd 1.49. *u-š nazdist dēwān xwadīh dād duš rawiśnīh*  
*ān mēnōy ī-š gannāgīh ī dām ī ohrmazd az-iš būd ...*

and next he created the essence of the demons, Evilness,  
 that spirit from which the corruption came to the creations of Ohrmazd ...<sup>673</sup>

The following table illustrates the different chronology of the creations of the opposing forces:

Order of creation	Ohrmazd's camp	Ahriman's camp
1	<i>nēk rawiśnīh</i>	-
2	<i>gētīy rōšnīh</i>	<i>gētīy tārīkīh</i>
3	-	<i>duš rawiśnīh</i>

Therefore, it can be suggested that the creation of Ahriman starts from *gētīy tārīkīh*. Regarding the creation after *gētīy rōšnīh* and *gētīy tārīkīh*, each of Ohrmazd's creation has an antagonist in Ahriman's camp until the creation of Ahunawar. The counter-creations of the two forces appear in formulaic constructions in the Bundahishn as follows:<sup>674</sup>

1) *gētīy rōšnīh* vs. *gētīy tārīkīh*:

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd 1.44 *ohrmazd az ān ī xwēš ī xwadīh az gētīy rōšnīh*  
*kirb ī dāmān ī xwēš frāz brēhēnīd*  
*pad ātaxš kirb ī rōšn ...*<sup>675</sup>

Ahriman's Creation: IrBd 1.47 *gannāg mēnōy az gētīy tārīkīh*  
*ān ī xwēš tan dām frāz kīrēnīd*

<sup>672</sup> The text is after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 37).

<sup>673</sup> The text and translation is after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 39).

<sup>674</sup> To highlight the formulaic structures, the translations which are after Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 38-39), appear in the footnote.

<sup>675</sup> Ohrmazd fashioned forth from his own essence, from Material Light / the form of his own creation / in the form of fire ...

*pad wazag kirb ī siyā ...*<sup>676</sup>

2) *wāy* vs. *waran*:

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd 1.45 *ā-š kirb ī wāy ī weh frāz brēhēnīd  
čiyōn wāy abāyist*<sup>677</sup>

Ahriman's Creation: IrBd 1.48 *u-š az gētīy xwad-dōšagīh waran pāygirb frāz kirrēnīd  
čiyōn waran abāyist*<sup>678</sup>

3) *rāst gōwišnīh* "Truthful Speech" vs. *drō gōwišnīh* "Lying Speech":

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd 1.50 *az rāst gōwišnīh abzōnīgīh ī dādār paydāg būd*<sup>679</sup>

Ahriman's Creation: IrBd 1.49 *az drō gōwišnīh anāgīh ī ōy gannāg mēnōy paydāg  
būd*<sup>680</sup>

4) *aθrō kerpa*<sup>681</sup> "Form of Fire" vs. *kirb* "Form":

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd 1.50 *čē-š aθrō kerpa az asar rōšnīh frāz brēhēnīd  
ud dām-iz hamāg andar aθrō kerpa be dād*<sup>682</sup>

Ahriman's Creation: IrBd 1.49 *čē-š az asar tārikīh ān kirb frāz kirrēnīd  
u-š xwēš dām andar ān kirb be dād*<sup>683</sup>

5) *ahunawar* vs. —:

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd. 1.50: *ud az aθrō kerpa ahunawar frāz būd*<sup>684</sup>

Ahriman's Creation: -

6) *mēnōy ī sāl* "Spirit of Year" vs. —

<sup>676</sup> For the translation see above.

<sup>677</sup> He then fashioned forth the form of the good Wāy / for Wāy was needed.

<sup>678</sup> And from the material self-will, he mis-created the form of Waran "Lust" / for he needed Waran.

<sup>679</sup> From Truthful Speech the bounteousness of the creator became manifest.

<sup>680</sup> From Lying Speech the Evilness of the Evil Spirit was manifested.

<sup>681</sup> Contrasted to Cereti & MacKenzie (2003: 39), Anklesaria (1956: 17) translates it as "āθrō astral form". Zaehner (1955: 281, 316) reads it as *asar kirb* "Endless Form". For *aθrō kerpa* "Form of Fire" see Duchesne-Guillemin (1964: 14-17).

<sup>682</sup> For he fashioned forth the Form of Fire from Endless light / and all creation also was created in the Form of Fire.

<sup>683</sup> For from Endless Darkness he mis-created that form / and he created his own creatures in that form.

<sup>684</sup> And from the Form of Fire the Ahunawar came forth.

Ohrmazd's Creation: IrBd 1.50 *az ahunawar mēnōy ī sāl frāz būd*<sup>685</sup>

Ahriman's Creation: -

The beneficent and evil antagonists are listed in the following table:

Ohrmazd's camp	Ahriman's camp
1) <i>gētīy rōšnīh</i> (IrBd 1.44)	1) <i>gētīy tārīkīh</i> (IrBd 1.47)
2) <i>kirb ī dāmān ī xwēš (ātaxš kirb) rōšnīh</i> (IrBd 1.44)	2) <i>xwēštan dām (wazag kirb)</i> (IrBd 1.47)
3) <i>wāy</i> (IrBd 1.45)	3) <i>waran</i> (IrBd 1.48)
4) -: The contrasting <i>yazdān xwadīh (nēk rawišnīh)</i> was created before <i>gētīy rōšnīh</i> (IrBd 1.35)	4) <i>dēwān xwadīh (duš rawišnīh)</i> (IrBd 1.49)
5) <i>rāst gōwišnīh</i> (IrBd 1.50)	5) <i>drō gōwišnīh</i> (IrBd 1.49)
6) <i>aθrō kerpa</i> (created from the Endless Light" (IrBd 1.50)	6) <i>kirb</i> (created from the Endless Darkness) (IrBd 1.49)
7) <i>ahunawar</i> (created from <i>aθrō kerpa</i> ) (IrBd. 1.50)	7) -
8) <i>mēnōy ī sāl</i> (IrBd 1.50)	8) -

The comparison between the Bundahišn, and Y 9.15 seems to provide an answer to the dilemma of Ahriman's material creation. As mentioned above, the recitation of Ahunawar by Zardušt breaks the form of demons. Therefore, on the one hand, it is conceivable to suggest an opposition between Ahunawar and *kirb* "form". On the other hand, no evil force can withstand Ahunawar. The victory of Ahunawar over the demonic *kirb* "form" can explain why in the Bundahišn, the material form, or body, of demons does not stand against *ahunawar* as opposing forces. However, Ahriman created the spiritual prototype of the material form but because of the Ahunawar prayer, it cannot develop further from its spiritual stage, opposing *aθrō kerpa*. The opposition between the *kirb* "form" of demons and *aθrō kerpa* "Form of Fire" agrees with the Zoroastrian cosmogony according to which Ohrmazd's creatures and men are created from the Form of Fire. (Duchesne-Guillemin: 1964: 14-17). The passages discussed here can also cast light on the meaning of the expression *tan mēnōy kardan* "making (the demon) bodies spiritual" in Y 9.15, indicating transforming the evil body, contrasting Ahunawar, to Kirb (form), opposing Āθro Kerpa.

<sup>685</sup> From the Ahunawar, the Spirit of the Year came forth.

The spiritual nature of the demonic bodies is corroborated by the other sections of the Pahlavi literature according to which the evil material bodies in the world of mixture are found in Ohrmazd's good creation:

IrBd 22. 3 .... *ud kirb az ēn cahār zahagān ī hast āb ud zamīg ud wād ud ātaxš* ...

and the body (of noxious creatures) is from these four elements which are water and earth and wind and fire.<sup>686</sup>

Regarding the demons whose body was not transformable into the spiritual shape, the texts do not mention their names or features directly. However, in the Avesta, while the Venerables (Av. *yazata-*) are characterised as either *mainiiauu-* “spiritual” or *gaēθiia-* “material”, demons (Av. *daēuua-*) are only described as spiritual (Gnoli 1995: 221-224). In IrBd. 5.3, the material Yazds are also opposed to the material Druz, corresponding to Av. *druj* “deceit”, rather than the expected *Dēw* (= Av. *daēuua-*). By contrast, *druj-* and *daēuua-* usually stand against *aša-* and *yazata-*, respectively in Zoroastrianism (Pirart 2007: 72, 138). Furthermore, the stories on the struggles between the Iranian heroes and the material dragons and demons (Y 9.1-15, Šāhnāma) occur before the story of Zardušt. Therefore, *ān kē nē tuwān būd kardan xwad bē škast* “That one who was not able to do this (i.e. demons who were incapable of assuming a spiritual body), he (Zardušt) broke (it) [i.e. the demon] itself” probably refers to the *\*gētiy dēwān* “material demons”.

**2) Line 9 Y 9.15aP** *xwad be škast* “he (Zardušt) broke (it) [i.e. demon] itself.”

In YIrP F2, *ān kē nē tuwān būd* is repeated after *xwad be škast*:

*hād har ān kē tan mēnōy tuwān būd kardan*  
*ā-š kālbod be škast*  
*ān kē nē tuwān būd kardan*  
*xwad be škast*  
 (F2 fol. 57r line 14) *ān kē nē tuwān būd*

The repetition of the the sentence was either a scribal mistake or correction. In the present edition, with the base text and other collated copies the repeated sentence is not employed.

<sup>686</sup> The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 182-183).

**3) Line 10 Y9.15aP** *kālbod be škast ēd kū* “Breaking the shape means this that”

In F2, *kālbod* is preceded by *tan* “body” according to which *tan ud kālbod* means “body and shape”. Moreover, in YIndP K5, M1, *kālbod be škastan ēd kū* “Breaking the shape means this that” is replaced by *kālbod be škast ēd čē* in which *škast* can be interpreted as either the short infinitive or past participle. However, since in J2, the sister manuscript of K5, *škastan* is attested, *škast* in K5 is interpreted as the short infinitive in the present edition. Moreover, the phrase introduces a new short commentary to the preceding *kālbod be škast*:

*hād har ān kē tan mēnōy tuwān būd kardan*  
***ā-š kālbod be škast***  
*ān kē nē tuwān būd kardan*  
*xwad bē škast*  
***kālbod be škastan ēd kū* (K5, M1 *kālbod be škast ēd čē*)**  
*az frāz pad dēw kirbīh wināh nē tuwān būd kardan*  
*tā pad stōr kirbīh ud mardōm kirbīh nūn-iz ōh kunēd]*

As far as the selection between *ēd kū* and *ēd čē* is concerned, the former usually introduces new short commentaries, meaning “(the fact) is that”.<sup>687</sup> Therefore, in the present edition, *ēd kū*, the reading of YIrPs and YIndP J2, is preferred to that of YIndP K5, M1.

**4) Line 15 Y 9.15b** *ast kū* “it is that”

With the exception of K5, M1, *ast* is preceded by *kē* in the manuscripts. However, with the base text K5, *kē* is not employed in the present edition.

**5) Line 16 Y9.15bP** *mēnōyān dām* “the creation of the spirits”

The Phl. *mēnōy* in *kē ast kū pērōzgar dād ēstē az ān ī mēnōyān dām* can be translated as either the adjective “spiritual” or its corresponding substantivized form “spirit”.<sup>688</sup> However, since it translates the Avestan dual *mañiiuuā* “of two spirits”, therefore, it is translated as the substantive “spirit” in the present edition in which *-ān* is regarded as the plural sign, expressing the Avestan dual number.

<sup>687</sup> See Cantera (2015a).

<sup>688</sup> For *mēnōy* see Nyberg (1974: 120); Gnoli (1995: 223-224).



**6) Line 17 Y9.15bP *dāmān* “creations”**

In YIrP Pt4 and YIndP K5, M1, *dāmān* “creations” is written, while in YIrP Mf4, G14, F2, T6, T55b; YIndP J2, the singular form *dām* “creation” is attested in the context *az dām(ān) ī mēnōyān xwēš* “among his creation(s) of the spirits”. As far as the editorial judgement is concerned, the commentary explains the preceding *ast kū pērōzgar az ān ī mēnōyān dām* as follows:

*ast kū pērōzgar*  
*dād ēstē az ān ī mēnōyān dām*  
*[az dām(ān) ī mēnōyān xwēš]*

It is that you have been created as the victorious among the creation of the spirits  
 [among his creation(s) of the spirits.]

It is unclear whether the gloss is intended to describe a different view which interpreted *dām* as *dāmān* or to emphasise on *xwēš*. Therefore, while both readings are possible, with the base text K5, pl. *dāmān* “creations”, is edited in the present edition.

## **5 Appendix: (Transliteration and Text- critical Apparatus)**

## 5.1 Y 9.1

- 1 (a) PWN h'wn' ltyh  
 2 [PWN h'wn g's]  
 3 hwm QDM SGYNTWN-t 'w' zltwšt'  
 4 (b) PWN 'thš [g's] pyl'mwn ywšd'slynšnyh  
 5 ['MT-š 'thš g's k'myst' šwstn']  
 6 g's'n' sl'dšnyh  
 7 ['MT-š ZK 'šmwhwk 3 gwpt MNW plwl'nyy 'w' L'YN']  
 8 (c) 'P-š MN 'w' pwrst' zltwšt'  
 9 'YK MNW GBR' HWH-yȳ  
 10 [HWH-t' L' PWN yšt' Y pltwm +YHWWN-yt +MN L'YN' pyt'k  
 11 'P-š YD'YTWN-st' 'YK hwm 'w' YHMTWN-yt  
 12 'MT mt' YHWWN-t 'š pwrst' p'dst  
 13 mtlwk 'wp 'yt zltwšt'  
 14 ZK pyt'k 'YK-š šn'ht  
 15 HN' l'd MH ZK zm'n' LWTH yzd'n' wyš YHWWN-t YK'YMWN-'t  
 16 'P-š yzdt' +šn'ktl YHWWN-t  
 17 HWH-t' 'P-š ZNH plgt' wlm YHWWN-t  
 18 'P-š +p'dst' l'd LWTH hwm L'L' YMRNN-t  
 19 'YT' MNW 'ytwn' YMLLWN-yt HWH-t 'whrmzd gwpt YK'YMWN-'t  
 20 'YK KR' 2 KN YHMTWN-d  
 21 'MT hwm mt' YHWWN-t 'š mtr šn's-yt']  
 22 (d) MNW L MN hlwsp' 'hw'  
 23 Y 'st'wmnd hm nywktl HZYTNW-t HWH-yȳ  
 24 MH-t ZK Y NPŠH y'n' nywk krt YK'YMWN-yt' 'mlg  
 25 [HWH-t y'n' tn' PWN pl'lwnyh 'mlg krt YK'YMWN-yt'  
 26 L' 'ytwn' cygwn 'LH-š'n MNW BSLY' Y ym ywt'  
 27 'P-š'n BYN tn' 'mlg krt YK'YMWN-'t'  
 28 'D BRMN tn' KR'YŠ 1 'mlg  
 29 aməɾəza gaiehe stūna

1 h'wn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1  
 h'wn W F2  
 h'wn T6  
 2 h'wn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b  
 h'wn T6; J2  
 h'wn Y K5 M1  
 3 L'YN' Pt4  
 QDM Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1  
 3 lpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 lpt F2 T55b  
 SGYNTWN-t' J2  
 SGYNTWN-t K5 M1  
 3 zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4; J2 K5 M1  
 zltwšt' G14 T6  
 zltwšt F2  
 zltwšt T55b  
 4 g's Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1

g's MN G14 (MN above the  
 line) F2 T6  
 deest J2  
 4 pyl'mwn' W Pt4  
 pyl'mwn' W Mf4 T55b  
 pyl'mwn' G14  
 pyl'mwn F2 T6; J2 K5 M1  
 5 deest Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b  
 'MT-š 'thš g's k'myst'  
 HLLWN-t' G14  
 'MT-š 'thš g's k'myst'  
 HLLWN-stn' F2  
 'MT-š 'thš g's k'myst'  
 HLLWN-stn' J2  
 'MT-š 'thš g's k'myst' šwstn'  
 K5  
 'thš g's k'mst W šwstn' g's'n'  
 M1  
 6 deest Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b

W g's'n' sl'dšnyh G14  
 g's'n' sl'dšnyh F2; J2 K5 M1  
 7 'MT-š Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 'MT J2  
 7 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1  
 ZK Y T6  
 7 'šmwhwk' Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 'šmwhwk Y G14 T6  
 'šm'whwk F2  
 'šmwhwk' Y J2  
 'šmwhwk K5 M1  
 7 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b  
 gwpt F2; J2 K5 M1  
 7 MNW Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 deest J2

8 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2 'w' K5 M1 8 pwrst Pt4 F2 T55b pwrst' Mf4 G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 8 zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 zltwhšt' G14 T6 zltwhšt F2 9 HWH'-ȳ Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; M1 HWH'-t G14 HWH'-ȳ F2; J2 K5 10HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 HWH-d F2 HWH-t' K5 M1 10yšt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 yšt G14 T6; J2 M1 yyšt F2 10YHWWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; M1 YHWWN-yt' G14 T6; J2 K5 illegible 10MN Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 M1 MNW F2 K5 illegible 11YD'YTWN-st' ZNH YD'YTWN-st' Pt4 G14 T6; J2 K5 d'n'st Mf4 YD'YTWN-st F2 T55b YD'YTWN-yt' M1 11KN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b 'w' J2 K5 M1 11YHMTWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1 YHMTWN-yt' G14 T6; J2 12MNW Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b 'MT J2 K5 M1 12mt Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b mt' Mf4; J2 K5 M1 12YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 YHWWN-t' J2 12 'š Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'P-š F2 12pwrstn' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b pwrstn G14 T6; J2 pwrst K5 M1 12'p'dst' Pt4 T55b 'p'st G14 F2 T6 'p'st' Mf4; J2 'p'dst K5 M1	13mtlw'k' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b. Pt4 separates mt and lwk' by a vertical line. mt lwk' F2 T6 mtlw J2 K5 M1 13'wp Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 13 'yt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 'yt G14 F2 T6; K5 M1 13zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 zltwhšt' G14 T6 zltwhšt F2 14ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest F2 14 šn'ht' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 šnht G14 T6 šn'ht K5 M1 15HN' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 HNĀ F2 15l'd Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b l'd MH F2; J2 K5 M1 14 zm'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b zm'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 zm'n F2 15yžd'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b yžd'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 15YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 YHWWN-yt F2 YH[...] J2 15YK'YMWN'-t Pt4 T55b YK'YMWN'-t Mf4 F2; M1 YK'YMWN'-t' G14 T6; K5 [...JMWN'-t' J2 16'P-š Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'š G14 T6 16'sn'ktl Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b 'šn'klt T6 'šn'tl J2 K5 M1 16YHWWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b YHWWN-yt' G14 YHWWN-t F2; K5 M1 bwt J2 17HWH-t'] HWH'-d Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b HWH-td G14 HWH-t T6 HWH-d J2 K5 M1 17plgt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 plgt F2 17LH Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b wlm Mf4; J2 K5 M1	17 YHWWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b YHWWN-yt' T6 YHWWN-t J2 K5 M1 18'p'dst' Pt4 T6 T55b; J2 'p'st' Mf4 'p'dst G14 'p'st F2 'p'dt' K5 M1 18L'L' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 LĀL' T55b 18gwpt' Pt4 T6 T55b; J2 gwpt Mf4 G14 F2 YMRRNN-t K5 M1 19'YT' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 'YT F2; M1 19'ytwn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'ytwn F2 19YMRRN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b YMRRN-yt' G14 T6 YMRRWN-yt J2 YMLLWN-yt K5 M1 19HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 HWH-t' J2 HWH-d F2 19whrmzd Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 T55b inserts <i>dī</i> with red ink preceding whrmzd. 19gwpt' Pt4 T6 T55b gwpt Mf4 G14 F2; J2 K5 M1 19YK'YMWN'-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1 YK'YMWN'-t' G14 T6; J2 20KN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 'w' J2 20YHMTWN'-d Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 M1 YHMTWN-d' G14 T6 YHMTWN-yt K5 21W 'MT Pt4 G14 T55b 'MT Mf4; J2 K5 M1 MNW F2 T6 21 mt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 mt G14 F2 T6; J2 21YHWWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b YHWWN-yt' G14 T6 YHWWN-t J2 K5 M1 21mtr' Pt4 Mf4 T55b mt W G14 T6 mt F2 mtr J2 K5 M1
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21 šn'syt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 šn'ht' G14 T6 šn'ht F2 Pt4 writes zltwšt in marg. after šn'sy-t'. It is not clear to which section it belongs. 22hlwsp' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 hlwsp F2 hlwsp" K5 M1 22'hw' Pt4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'hw'n' Mf4 'hw G14 T6 23'st' wmnnd Pt4 Mf4 T55b 'st' wmnnd G14 F2 T6; J2 'st' wmnnd K5 ('wmnd is written above the line) M1 23HYZYTNW-t Pt4 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 HYZYTNW-t Mf4 HYZYTNW-t' G14; J2 23HWH-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 T55b HWH-yȳ G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 24Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1 deest G14 T6; J2 24HY' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b y'n' J2 K5 M1 24nywk' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b nywk F2; K5 M1 J2 illegible 24krt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 krt F2; K5 M1 24YK'YMWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 T55b YK'YMWN-yt' G14 T6; K5 M1 YK'YMN-'t' F2 [...]YMWN-yt' J2 24W 'mlg Pt4 T55b 'mlg Mf4 G14 F2 T6; K5 (In K5, although L' ywtwn' cygqn LH-š'n' MNW	BLSL' Y ym ywt occurs before 'mlg, they are omitted by the deletion dots) M1 HWH-t' 'mlg J2 25HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 (in marg.) G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 HWH F2 25HY' Pt4 Mf4 (in marg.) G14 F2 T6 T55b y'n' J2 K5 M1 25deest Pt4 (writes tn' with pale script in marg.) Mf4 G14 T6 T55b tn' F2 K5 M1 tn' W J2 25PWN Pt4 Mf4 (in marg.) G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest F2 25 pl'lwnyh Pt4 Mf4 (in marg.) G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 deest F2 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 J2 25' 'mlg Pt4 Mf4 (in marg.) G14 T6 T55b 'mlg J2 K5 M1 deest F2 25 krt' Pt4 Mf4 (in marg.) T55b; J2 krt G14 T6; K5 M1 deest F2 25YK'YMN-yt Pt4 F2 T55b Mf4 (in marg.) YK'YMN-yt' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 26L' Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 LĀ Mf4 26ytwn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 ytwn F2 26' LH-š'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 'LH-š'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 26BSL' Pt4 T55b	BSLY' Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 26ywt' Pt4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 ywt' W Mf4 ywt' G14 ywt' YK'YMN-yt' T6 ywt F2 27'P-š'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'P-š'n' G14 T6 'P-š y'n' F2 27BYN Pt4 G14 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest F2 T6 28krt' Pt4 T55b krt Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 27YK'YMWN-t' Pt4 F2 T55b; K5 YK'YMWN-yt Mf4 YK'YMWN-t' G14 T6; J2 M1 28MN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; M1 MNW J2 K5 illegible 29gaiehe Pt4 G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 gaiehe Mf4 F2 gaie T55b --- mi9rō Pt4 (in marg.) G14 T6 at the end of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1c deest Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 F2 at the end of the Avestan section of Y9.1.c. ziiāt Pt4 (in marg.) F2 at the end of the Avestan section of Y9.1.c) deest Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 ziiāt G14 T6 zara9uštṛəm Pt4 (in marg.) G14 T6 at the end of the Pahlavi version of Y 9.1c deest Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 F2 at the end of the Avestan section of Y9.1.c.
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## 5.2 Y 9.2

- 1 (a) 'w' L 'LH pshw' YMLLWN-t  
 2 hwm Y<sup>1</sup> 'hlwb' Y<sup>2</sup> dwl'wš  
 3 [HWH-t 'dwl'wšyh HN' 'YK 'wš MN lwb'n Y mltwm'n' dwl YHŠNN-yt  
 4 lwšn' gwpt  
 5 HWH-t ''wšyh PWN hwm YHWWN-yt]  
 6 (b) '+'NH HWH-m zltwšt'  
 7 hwm Y 'hlwb' Y dwl'wš  
 8 (c) ZK +Y ZK Y L hwn 'L hwlšn' [+hwlšn' l'd BRH hwn]  
 9 (d) QDM L PWN st'dšn' st'd [BYN ycšn']  
 10 cygwn L 'HL-c  
 11 swt'wmnd st'dynd ['š ZK Y LK LK l'd]

1 G14 and T6 insert 'mlg krt'  
 HY' NPŠH l'd PWN st'dšn  
 Y whrmzd before 'w'.

F2 inserts 'mlg k[...]' HY'  
 NP[...] l'd PWN st'dšn  
 whrmzd in marg.

1 L 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; J2

L deest K5 M1

1 pshw' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

pshw F2

1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b  
 gwpt F2

YMLLWN J2

YMLLWN-t K5 M1

2-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1 T55

' F2

2-2 deest Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b  
 Y Mf4; J2 K5 M1

3 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

HWH-d F2

3 dwl'wšyh Pt4 T55b; K5  
 M1

dwl'wšyh Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2  
 3 'YK Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1

'YK-š Mf4

3 lwb'n Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b;  
 K5 M1

lwb'n' F2 T6; J2

3 mltwm'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 mltwm'n' G14 F2 T6; K5 M1

'NŠWT'-n' J2

3 YHŠNN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2  
 T55b; K5 M1

YHŠNN-yt' G14 T6; J2

4 lwšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

lwšn F2

4 gwpt' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b

gwpt Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1

5 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b;  
 K5 M1

HWH-d F2

HWM-t T6

سر J2

5 YHWWN-yt Pt4 Mf4 F2  
 T55b; K5 M1

YHWWN-yt' G14 T6; J2

6 'NH Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b

'NH' Mf4

hwm J2 K5 M1

6 Pt4 and T55b write W after  
 'NH

6 HWH'-m Pt4 Mf4 T55b

HWH-m G14 F2 T6; J2 K5  
 M1

6 zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5  
 M1

zltwhšt' G14 T6

zltwhšt F2

7 G14 F2 T6 do not write Y  
 after 'hlwb'

8 ZK Y ZK Y L Pt4 Mf4 G14  
 F2 T55b; J2

ZK ZK Y L T6

ZK W ZK Y K5 M1

8 'w' Pt4 (crossed out) Mf4  
 T55b

'w' KN F2

deest J2 K5 M1

8 hwn, hun (hun in the  
 Avestan letters above the  
 line) Pt4 Mf4

hwn', hun (hun in the Avestan  
 letters above the line) G14

hun 'w' (hun in the Avestan  
 letters), 'w' F2

hwn' hun (hun in the Avestan  
 letters inmar.) T6

hn, hun (hun in the Avestan  
 letters above the line) T55b

hwn KN J2

hwn 'L K5 M1

8 [MND'M-1 B'YHWN-yt']  
 'y spyt'm'n' W pr'c L l'd]  
 deest Pt4 T55b; J2 K5 M1

Mf4 writes above the line and  
 in marg.: B'YHNyt  
 spytm'n' 𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬀 Mf4 (in  
 marg.)

G14 writes in marg.: MNW  
 MND'M-1 B'YHWN-yt 'y  
 spyt'm'n' W pr'c L l'd G14  
 (in marg.)

T6 writes in marg.: MNW  
 MND'M-1 B'YHWN-yt' 'y  
 spyt'm'n' W pr'c L l'd

MNW MND'M-1  
 B'YHWNyt 'y spyt'm'n' W  
 pr'c L l'[...] F2 (in marg.)

8 hwlšn' hwlšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14  
 F2 T6 T55b; J2

hwlšn' K5 M1

8-2 hwn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6;  
 T55b

[...]wn J2

hwn K5 M1

8 Pt4 (with small letters) and  
 T55b write hw'lšn' hwlt  
 after hwn'.

9 st'dšn Pt4 T55b

st'dšn' Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5  
 M1

9 st'd Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; K5  
 M1

<p>W st'd Mf4  stād F2  𐤒𐤓 J2  9 'ycšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  T55b  ycšn' F2; J2 K5 M1  10 'HL-c Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b;  K5 M1</p>	<p>'HL-c Y J2  11 swt'wmnnd Pt4 Mf4 T55b  swt'wmnt G14  swt'wmnd F2 T6; J2 K5 M1  11 st'dynd Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  T55b; K5 M1  st'dyny F2  st'dyind J2</p>	<p>11ZK Y LK LK Pt4 Mf4 G14  T6; K5  ZK LK LK F2; M1  ZK Y LK W LK LKWM T55b  ZK Y LK W LK J2  11 Pt4 writes below the line,  after <i>ZK Y LK LK</i>: LKWM  swt Y YHBWNm</p>
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## 5.3 Y 9.3

- 1 (a) 'P-š gwpt zltwšt'  
 2 'YK nm'c 'w' hwm  
 3 (b) MNW 'LK  
 4 pltwm hwm MN 'NŠWT'-'n'  
 5 BYN 'st'wmnd'n' gyh'n' hwn'yt' HWH-yȳ  
 6 MN ZK 'tlsk'syh krt'  
 7 [ZK nywkyh 'YK 'D-m YHWWN-'t]  
 8 MH 'w' 'LH mt' 'p'tyh

1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; J2 T6 T55b gwpt F2; K5 M1 1 zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 zltwhšt' G14 T6 zltwhšt F2 2 nm'c' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 nm'c G14 F2; K5 M1 2 deest Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b 'w' F2; J2 K5 M1 3 LK Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 t55b; J2 LK hwm K5 M1 4 hwm Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 hw'm T55b 4 'NŠWT'-'n' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 'NŠWT'-'n' G14 F2 T6; K5 M1 5 st'wmnd'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b 'st'wmnd'n' G14 T6; K5 M1	'st'wmnd'n Y J2 5 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; M1 gyh'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 gyyh'n' F2 5 hwn'yt Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 hwn'yt' G14 T6 hwnyt F2 5 HWH-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 T55b HWH-yȳ G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 6 W MNW Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b MNW F2 MN J2 K5 M1 6 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 ZK Y T6 6 tlsk'syh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; K5 tls[...]syh F2 وت مہکتسہن T6 (k' above the line) tlskāsy J2	tlskāsy K5 M1 (مہکتسہن in marg.) M1 6 krt' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; K5 M1 krt F2 krt' 'YK J2 7 YHWWN-'t Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 YHWWN-'t' G14 (YHMTWN-'t above the line with pale script) YHWWN-'t (YHMTWN-'t in marg. with pale script) F2 YHMT-'t' WN-d (WN-d above the line) T6 8 MH Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 MH' F2 8 mt' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; K5 M1 mt F2; J2
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## 5.4 Y 9.4

- 1 (a) 'w' L 'LH pshw' gwpt  
 2 hwm Y 'hlwb' dwl'wš  
 3 (b) 'wywngh' n' L pltwm MN 'NŠWT' -'n'  
 4 BYN 'st'wmnd' n' 'gyh' n' hwn'ytm  
 5 'LH 'ZK 'tlsk' syh krt'  
 6 'w' 'LH mt 'p' tyh  
 7 (c) 'MT MN 'LH pws L' L' YLYDWN-t  
 8 MNW 'ym Y šyt' Y hwlmk  
 9 (d) MNW GDH 'wmndtwm MN YLYDWN-t' n' YHWWN-t [hwyšk'ltwm]  
 10 'hwlšyt' nkylšntwm MN 'NŠWT' -'n' YHWWN-t [hwcšmtwm  
 11 HWH-t GDH 'YT Y hwyšk'lyh  
 12 W 'YT' Y PWN tn' Y GBR'  
 13 ZK Y<sup>1</sup> PWN tn' Y<sup>2</sup> ym  
 14 hm-DYN' YHWWN-t HWH-d 'YK 'hwyšk'lyh  
 15 HWH-t lwšn' gwpt'  
 16 HWH-t GDH HN' 'YT' Y<sup>1</sup> PWN tn' Y<sup>2</sup> GBR'  
 17 GDH 'wmnd YHSNN-yt' hwyšk'lyh ZK lwb'k 'BYDWN-yt]  
 18 (e) MNW-š krt' PWN ZK Y 'LH' hwt'yh  
 19 'mlg p'h W wyl  
 20 'hw'ššn' W MY' W 'wlwl  
 21 ['YK ZK Y L' 'p'd-st' hwšk<sup>1</sup> L' hwšk<sup>2</sup>]  
 22 (f) hwlšn' 'ŠTHN-'n' 'n' pšysyšn'  
 23 ['YK 'MT 'ywk<sup>1</sup> 'ŠTHN-t YHWWN-t 'ywk<sup>2</sup> mt YHWWN-t]

1 T6 inserts 'ytwn at the  
 beginning of the section (a)  
 1 pshw' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2  
 K5 M1  
 pshw G14 F2  
 1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; M1  
 gwpt G14 F2; K5  
 YMLLWN J2  
 2 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5  
 M1  
 deest F2; J2  
 2 'hlwb' Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b;  
 K5 M1  
 'hlwb' Y Mf4  
 'hlwb Y J2  
 3 wywngh' n' Pt4 Mf4 F2  
 T55b  
 wywngh' n' G14 T6  
 wywgh' n' J2  
 wywgh' n' K5 M1  
 3 pltwm Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1

[...]ltwm J2  
 3 mltwm' n' Pt4 T55b  
 'NŠWT' -'n' Mf4 F2  
 mltwm' n' G14 T6  
 'NŠWT' -'n' J2 M1  
 'NŠT' -'n' K5  
 4 'st'wmnd' n' Pt4 Mf4 F2  
 T55b; J2  
 'st'wmnd' n' G14 T6  
 'st'wmnd' n' Y K5 M1  
 4 gyh' n' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b;  
 M1  
 gyh' n' G14 T6; J2  
 sty gyh' n' K5  
 4 hwn'yt-m Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 hwn'yt-m G14 T6; J2 K5 M1  
 hwnyt-m F2  
 5 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6  
 T55b; J2  
 ZK Y K5 M1  
 5 tlsk' syh Pt4 G14 T6 T55b  
 tlsk' syh' Mf4

tlsg' syh F2  
 tlskāšy J2 K5 M1  
 6 'w' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5  
 M1  
 W 'w' G14 T6  
 6 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1  
 LH F2  
 6 mt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2  
 mt F2 T6; K5 M1  
 7 'MT Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2  
 K5 M1  
 MNW G14 F2  
 7 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 'w' J2  
 7 BRH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; J2  
 pws K5 M1  
 7 YLYDWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 YLYDWN-t' G14; J2

8 ym Y šyt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 ymšyt' G14 F2 T6 ymšyt K5 M1 8 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 T6 8 hwlmk' Pt4 G14 Mf4 Mf4 T6 T55b hwlmk F2; J2 K5 M1 9 'wmnndtwm Pt4 Mf4 T55b 'wmndtwm G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 9 YLYDWN-t' n' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 YLYDWN-t G14 T6 YLYDWN-mnd' n' F2 YLYDWN-t' n' J2 10W Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b deest G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 10hwlšyt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 deest G14 T6 hwlšyt F2; M1 hwlhšyt K5 10nkylšntwm Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 T6 ngylšntwm F2 10MN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; K5 M1 T55 [...]N J2 10'NŠWT'-'n' Pt4 F2 T55b; J2 deest G14 T6 'NŠWT'-'n' Mf4; K5 M1 10 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1 T55 deest G14 T6 YHWWN-t' J2 10hwcšmtwm Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1 deest G14 T6 hwcšm[...] J2 10 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 HWH-d F2 11 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 'YT G14 F2; K5 M1 11 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 deest G14 F2 T6; J2 12 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest F2 12 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'YT F2 12 Y Pt4 Mf T55b4; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 F2 T6 12PWN Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 T6	13 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 T55 deest F2 T6; K5 M1 13-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55 ; K5 M1 deest G14 F2 T6; J2 13-2 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 T6 14hmd' tst' n' Pt4 Mf4 T55b hmd' tst' n' G14 T6 hmd' t' n' F2 hm-DYN' J2 K5 M1 14YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 YHWWN-t' T6 14HWH-d Pt4 Mf4 HWH-d G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 14hwyšk' lyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2 M1 T55 ساروسدو K5 15lwsn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2 HWH-t lšn K5 M1 15gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; T55 gwpt F2; J2 K5 M1 16HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 HWH-d F2 16 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'YT F2 16-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 deest G14 F2 T6; J2 16-2 deest Pt4 T55b W Mf4 Y G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 17 'wmnnd Pt4 Mf4 T55b 'wmnd G14 F2 T6; K5 M1 'wmn[...] J2 17YHSNN-yt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 YHSNN-yt G14 T6 سوسنمدر F2 17lwb' k' lwb' k' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 G14 T6 insert W hwlšyt (hwlšyt' T6) nkylšntwm MN 'NŠWT'-'n' YHWWN-t hucšmtwm after lwb' k' 'BYDWN-yt. preceded by the Avestan original: huuarə darəsō mašiiānām. In other manuscripts, it is attested according to the line 10. 18 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest F2 T6 18 'LH Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; M1	'w' Mf4; J2 deest F2 'LH' K5 18hwt'yyh Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 hwt'yh G14; K5 M1 19W Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 deest J2 19 wyl Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 wyl ' G14 20 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b deest J2 K5 M1 20' hwššn' Pt4 Mf4 T55b G14 ' W 2 hwššn' T6 'hwššnndyh F2 2 ' 'hwššn' T6 'hwššnyh W J2 'hwššn' W K5 M1 20MY' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 سوسد F2 20W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 deest F2; J2 21 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 KN F2 deest J2 21 'p' d-t Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b 'p' d-t' G14 'pd-yt F2 'p' -st' J2 'p' d-st K5 M1 21-1 hwšk Pt4 (above the line with pale script which seems to be the secondary addition); J2 K5 deest Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; M1 21-2 hwšk' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b hwšk Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1 22hwlšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 hwlšn F2 'ŠTHN-t' J2 22' ŠTHN-'n' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b 'ŠTH-'n' G14 'ŠTH-'n' T6 'ŠTHN-'n' J2 'ŠTHN-t' n' K5 M1 22' n' pšysyšn' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6; T55 'n' pšysšn' F2 'n' p' šyššn' J2 K5 M1 23 'MT Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6; J2 K5 M1 T55 MNW F2
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23-1 'ywk Pt4 F2 T55b; K5 M1 'ywk' Mf4 G14 T6 'ywk 1 J2 23 ŠTHN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'ŠTN-d F2	23 YḤWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 YḤWWN-t' G14 bwt J2 23-2 'ywk Pt4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'ywk' Mf4 T6	23mt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 mt G14 F2 T6; K5 M1 23YḤWWN-t' Pt4 T55b YḤWWN-t Mf4 G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 YḤWWN-yt F2
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## 5.5 Y 9.5

- 1 (a) PWN ZK Y<sup>1</sup> ym hwt'yh Y<sup>2</sup> 'lwnd  
 2 L' slm'k YHWWN-t' L' glm'k  
 3 (b) L' zlm'n' YHWWN-t W L' mlgyh  
 4 W L' +'lšk' Y ŠDY'-n d't  
 5 [HWH-t hm'k YHWWN-t BR' MN wn's L' WHL d'št YK'YMWN-t' HWH-d]  
 6 (c) 15 ŠNT-k 'lwdšn' pr'c SGYTWN-t HWH-d 'B'  
 7 W pws 'kt'l-c 'y  
 8 [HWH-t bwlckw PWN st'dšn' Y pws gwpt  
 9 'YK pws 'ytwn' nywk YHWWN-t 'B'  
 10 'B' 'ytwn' nywk YHWWN-t cygwn Y pws]  
 11 (d) hm'y 'D 'MT ŠLYT' YHWWN-t  
 12 hwlmk ym Y [šyt] 'wywngh'n' BRH  
 13 [ZNH MND'M 'ytwn' YHWWN-t]

1-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1  
 deest G14 F2 T6; J2

1 ym Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1

ym Y J2

1 hwt'yh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b

hwt'yh F2; J2 K5 M1

1-2 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5

deest F2

2 slm'k Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

F2 does not write the first  
 stroke of the letter *s*,  
 therefore, its spelling is like  
 the following *glm'k*, but the  
 reading *sarmāg* is  
 confirmed by the subscript  
 New Persian translation  
 سرما.

2 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14  
 F2 T6 T55b

deest J2

YHWWN-t' K5 M1

2 L' W Pt4 T55b

L' G14 Mf4 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1

2 glm'k Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1

glm'y J2

3 zlm'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b

zlm'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1

3 YHWWN-t W Pt4 Mf4 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1

YHWWN-t' W G14

YHWWN-t F2; J2

4 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1

deest F2

4 L' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2  
 K5 M1

G14 combines L' with the  
 following word and writes  
 l'šk'.

4 ل'شك Pt4 Mf4 T55b

l'šk' G14

'lšk F2; J2

'lšk' T6

'lšk' K5 M1

4 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1

deest J2

4 ŠDY'-n Pt4 T55b

ŠDY'-n Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1

ŠDY'-n' G14 T6

4 d't Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

5 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1

HWH-t' J2

5 hm'k Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1

hm'y J2

5 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14  
 T55b; K5 M1

YHWWN-t HWH-d F2; J2

YHWWN-t' T6

5 d'št' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b

d'št F2; J2 K5 M1

5 YK'YMWN-t' Pt4 T55b

YK'YMWN-t' Mf4 G14 F2;  
 K5 M1

YK'YMWN-t' T6; J2

5 HWH-d Pt4 Mf4 T55b

HWH-d G14 F2 T6; J2 K5

HWH-t M1

6 s'lk' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6

s'lk F2

sālk' T55b

s[...lk' J2

ŠNT-k K5 M1

6 'lwdšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1

'lwdšn F2

'lwdšn' T6 separates 'lw and  
 dšn' by a "8" like shape and  
 gives the new Persian  
 translation below the line  
 as: دررویوچهره

6 pr'c' Pt4 G14

pr'c Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5  
 M1

6 SGYTWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

SGYTWN-t' G14 T6

6 HWH-d Pt4 Mf4 T55b

HWH-d G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1

6 'B' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1

'B F2

7 BRH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2

بره F2

pws K5 M1

7 ktāl-c Pt4 T55b

kt'l-c Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2

W kt'l-c K5 M1

8 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6;  
 K5

HWH-d F2

بره F2

HWH-t' J2 M1

8 bwlckw'] bwlck' Pt4 Mf4  
 G14 T6 T55b

bwlck F2	'B W 'B F2	11 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14
W bwlckw J2. It writes 'ytwn'	'B' W ĀB' Y J2	T55b; J2 K5 M1
nywk YHWWN-t cygwn pws	'B' 'B' K5 M1	YHWWN-t' T6
after W bwlckw .bwlckw	10 'ytwn' Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b;	YHWWN-d F2
K5 M1	J2 K5 M1	12 hwlmk' Pt4 F2 T55b
8 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5	'ytwn Mf4	hwlmk Y Mf4
M1	10 nywk' Pt4 Mf4 T55b	hwlmk G14 T6; J2 K5 M1
deest G14 T6	nywk G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1	12 ym Y šyt Y Pt4 T55b
8 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6	10 cygwn Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6	ym Y šyt Mf4 F2; K5 M1
T55b	T55b; J2	ym šyt' G14 T6
gwpt J2 K5 M1	cygwn Y K5 M1	ym Y šyt' J2
9 BRH Pt4 Mf4 Mf4 G14 F2	10 BRH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6	12 wywngh' 'n Pt4 T55b
T6 T55b; J2	T55b; J2	wywngh' 'n Mf4 F2
pws K5 M1	pws K5 M1	wywngh' 'n' G14 T6
9 'ytwn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6	11 hm'y Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6	wywngh' 'n J2
T55b; J2	T55b; K5 M1	wywngh' 'n' K5 M1
'ytwn F2 K5 M1	hm'k 'w' F2	13 'ytwn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6
9 nywk' Pt4 Mf4 T55b	hm'y 'w J2	T55b; J2 K5 M1
nywk G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1	11 'MT Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6	'ytwn F2
9 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14	T55b; K5 M1	13 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2
F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1	'MT' J2	T55b; K5 M1
9 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2	11 ŠLYT' -y Pt4 T55b; J2	YHWWN-t' G14 T6; J2
deest G14 T6; K5 M1	ŠLYT' Mf4 G14 F2 T6; K5	
9-10 'B' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b	M1	

## 5.6 Y 9.6

- 1 (a) MNW LK  
 2 <sup>+</sup>dytkl hwm MN mltwm 'n'  
 3 BYN <sup>+</sup>st'wmnd'n gyh'n' hwn'yt HWH-yȳ  
 4 MNW ZK <sup>+</sup>tlsk'syh krt'  
 5 [<sup>+</sup>ZK nywkyh 'YK 'D-m YHWWN-'t]  
 6 W MH 'w' 'LH mt' <sup>+</sup>p'tyh

2 dytkl Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; J2 M1  
 dytkl K5  
 2 'NŠWT'- 'n Pt4 Mf4 F2  
 T55b  
 'NŠWT'- 'n' G14 T6  
 'N[...]T'- 'n' J2  
 mltwm'n' K5 M1  
 3 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 T55b  
 'st'wmnd'n Mf4  
 'st'wmnd'n' G14 F2 T6; J2  
 'st'wmnd'n Y K5 M1  
 3 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 gyh'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1  
 فئس F2  
 3 hwn't Pt4

hwn'yt Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2  
 K5 M1  
 hwnyt F2  
 3 HWH-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 HWH-yȳ G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1  
 4 ZK Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2  
 K5 M1  
 LK G14  
 4 tsk'syh Pt4 G14 T6 T55b  
 tsk'yh Mf4  
 فئس F2  
 tsk'yh J2 K5 M1  
 5 ZK Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6  
 T55b; J2  
 ZK Y K5 M1

5 YHWWN-'t' Pt4 Mf4 G14  
 T6 T55b; J2  
 YHWWN-'t' F2 K5 M1  
 6 MH Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b  
 W MH G14 T6; J2 K5 M1  
 6 'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; K5  
 M1  
 W T55b  
 W 'w' J2  
 6 mt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2  
 mt G14 F2 T6  
 mt' Y K5 M1  
 6 nywkyh Pt4 Mf4 ('p'tyh: in  
 marg.) F2 T55b; K5 M1  
 nywkyh W 'p'tyh G14 T6  
 'p'tyh J2

## 5.7 Y 9.7

- 1 (a) 'w' L 'LH pshw' gwpt'  
 2 hwm Y<sup>1</sup> 'hlwb' Y<sup>2</sup> dwl'wš  
 3 (b) '+'spyy'n' L dtykl MN mltwm'n'  
 4 BYN '+'st'wmnd'n' gyh'n' hwn'-yt' HWH-m  
 5 'LH ZK 'tlsk'syh krt  
 6 W 'w' 'LH mt' 'p'tyh  
 7 (c) MNW MN 'LH BRH L'L' YLYDWN-t  
 8 MNW '+'p'z'lwys plytwn'  
 9 [HWH-t '+'p'z'lwysyh HN' YHWWN-t 'YK  
 10 h'nk' 1 MN 'p'rm'nd Y 'BY-tl'n KBD YHWWN-t  
 11 ZK-c Y dh'k PWN sthmkyh L'WHL 'HDWN-t  
 12 'P-š 'hwt'yyh HN' 'hwyš'wndyh pyt'k L' YHWWN-t 'LH d'št']

1 'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'ywn' 'w' T6: 'ywn' is written in marg. 1 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 'w' J2 1 pshw' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 pshw F2 1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 gwpt F2 2-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b K5 M1 deest G14 J2 2 'hlwb' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 āhlwb' J2 2-2 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 deest G14 F2 T6; J2 3 'dpyk'n Pt4 Mf4 'spyk'n' G14 T6 'dpyy'n (writes āḡḡiān below the line) T55b 'dpyy'n' F2 'spyy'n' J2 'spyy'n Y K5 M1 3 'NŠWT'-n' Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2 'NŠWT'-n Mf4 mltwm'n' K5 M1 4 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 T55b 'st'wmnd'n' Mf4 F2 T6; J2 'YT'wmnd'n' G14 'st'wmnd'n' Y K5 M1 4 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b gyh'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤕 F2	4 hwn'yt Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 hwn'yt' G14 T6 hwnyt F2 4 HWH-m Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; T55 (In T55 the stroke is written above the line) HWH-m F2 (HW is written with the pale letters above the line) J2 K5 M1 5 'w' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b (the order is ZK W 'w') 'LH Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1 5 tsk'syh Pt4 G14 T6 T55b tsk'sh Mf4 tslg'sy F2 tsk'sy J2 K5 M1 5 krt' Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 krt W K5 M1 6 W 'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 MH ZK 'w' F2 6 'LH ZK Pt4 Mf4 T55b 'LH G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 6 mt' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 m Mf4 mt F2 7 MNW Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 'MT Mf4; J2 7 MN 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 J2 Illegible 7 BRH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 pws J2 7 YLYDWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; K5 M1	YLYDWN-t' T6 deest J2 8 MNW Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest Mf4 MN F2 8 'p'z'lwys Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 'p'z'l Y wys F2 'p'zlwys K5 M1 8 plytwn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤕 F2 plytwn J2 M1 9 HWH-t Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 HWH-d F2 9 'p'z'lwysyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 'p'z'lwys F2 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤕 K5 M1 9 'w' Pt4 T55b 'w' HN' Mf4 HN' G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 9 'YK Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b ( 'YK PWN: PWN is written above the line with the small letters); K5 M1 'YK-š F2; J2 10h'nk' 1 Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 h'nk' 1 Mf4 h'nk F2 h'nnk J2 10'p'rm'nd Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 QDM-m'nd J2 10'BY-tl'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 (l'n is written above the line with
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the small letters) T55b; K5  
M1  
'BY-tl'n' G14 T6; J2  
10KBD Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2  
K5 M1  
deest G14 T6  
10YḤWWN-t Pt4 G14 F2 T6  
T55b; K5 M1  
YḤWWN-t' Mf4; J2  
11 ZK-c Y Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6  
T55b; K5 M1  
ZK-c F2  
W ZK-c J2  
11 dh'k Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6  
T55b; K5 M1  
dhk J2

11sthmb" Pt4 T55b  
sthmb' G14 Mf4 F2 T6  
sthmkyl J2 K5 M1  
11 'ḤDWN-t Pt4 Mf4 T55b;  
K5 M1  
'ḤDWN-t' G14; J2  
'ḤDWN-d F2  
'ḤDW-t' T6  
12hwt'y Pt4 F2 T6 T55b; K5  
M1  
hwt' Y Mf4  
hwt' G14  
hwt'yyl J2  
12ḤN' W Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6  
T55b; J2 K5 M1  
ḤN' F2

12hwyš' wndyh Pt4 T55b  
hwyš' wndy Mf4 G14 T6  
hwyš' wnd F2; J2  
𐤆𐤇𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 K5 M1  
12 pyt'k Pt4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5  
M1 T55  
pyt' [...] Mf4  
12 YḤWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14  
F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
12 d'st' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; J2  
K5 M1 T55  
L'L' d'st' F2



## 5.8 Y 9.8

- 1 (a) MNW-š zt 'c' Y dh'k  
 2 Y<sup>1</sup> 3 zpl Y<sup>2</sup> 3 km'l  
 3 Y<sup>1</sup> 6 'š Y<sup>2</sup> hc'lwewst'l [Y<sup>3</sup> 'd'tk' PWN gwhlk']  
 4 (b) KBD 'wc' ŠDY'' dlwc  
 5 Y<sup>1</sup> SLY-tl 'w' gyh'n [zyd'n k'l] Y<sup>2</sup> +dlwnd  
 6 (c) MNW-š KBD 'wctwm dlwc  
 7 pr'c klynyt' gn'k mynwd  
 8 QDM 'w' 'st'wmnd'n' +gyh'n'  
 9 PWN mlgyl Y ZK 'hl'dyh gyh'n'  
 10 ['YK-š MN dlwc Y gytyy' ywk ZK sthmktl YH̄BWN-t  
 11 kō 9βām yim ahurəm mazdām  
 12 ZK HN' 'm'l 'YK  
 13 KR' ZK zyd'n' ZY-š PWN d'm'n Y 'whrmzd twb'n YH̄WWN-t  
 14 'š BR' krt  
 15 W LZNH YH̄WWN-t MND'M ZY-š twb'n YH̄WWN-t krt'n  
 16 'P-š L' krt']

1 MHYTWN-t' Pt4 T55b  
 MHYTWN-t Mf4 G14; J2  
 MHYTWN-yt F2 T6  
 zt K5 M1  
 1 'YK bnd Pt4 G14 T6  
 deest Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 1 krt Pt4  
 krt' G14 T6  
 deest Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 1 'c' Y dh'k' Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 'cdh'k' Y G14 T6  
 'c' Y dh'k F2  
 'c' Y dh'k Y J2  
 'c'k Y dh'k Y K5 M1  
 1 Pt4 writes *l'd* after 'c' Y  
*dh'k' Y* in the marg.  
 2 zyl Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 (zpl is  
 crossed out) T55b  
 zpl F2; J2 K5 M1  
 2-2 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5  
 M1  
 deest G14 T6  
 W Y J2  
 3-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1  
 deest F2 T6  
 3-2 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1  
 deest F2  
 3 Pt4 and T55b describe  
*hc'lwewst'l* in the marg. as  
 hc'l GBR' l'd zwl d'stk  
 YH̄WWN-t.

3-3 deest Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2  
 W F2  
 Y K5 M1  
 3 'd'tk' Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b  
 d'tk' Y F2  
 'd'tk' J2  
 'd'tk' Y K5 M1  
 3 gwhlk' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2  
 K5 M1  
 gwhlk G14 T6  
 4 Y KBD Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 KBD G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1  
 4 'wc' 'wmnd Pt4  
 'wc W Mf4  
 'wc'wmnd G14 (/d/ is written  
 above the line with a  
 different colour)  
 'wc F2  
 'wc cygwn MN T6  
 'wcwmn T55b  
 'wc' J2 K5 M1  
 4 ŠDY' Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 ŠDY'' W G14 T6  
 ŠDY' W F2  
 ŠDY'' J2 K5 M1  
 4 dlwc' Pt4 F14 Mf4 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 dlwc F2  
 5-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5  
 M1

Y MN G14 (*MN* is written  
 above the line with a  
 different colour) T6 (*MN* is  
 written above the line)  
 deest J2  
 5 SLY-tl'n' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2  
 T6 T55b  
 SLY-tl J2  
 SLY-tl'tl K5 M1  
 5 deest Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b  
 'w' J2 K5 M1  
 5 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 gyh'n' G14 F2 T6  
 gyh'n'n' J2 K5 (two letters are  
 crossed out on the line and  
 'n' is written twice above  
 and below the line) M1  
 5 zyd'n k'l Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 zyd'nk'ltl F2  
 5-2 W Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 deest G14 F2 T6; J2  
 Y K5 M1  
 5 dlwnd Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2  
 dlwnnd K5 M1  
 6 KBD Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 6 dlwc Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

7 klyn̄yt Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 kyl̄n̄yt' J2	10Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest T6	krtn' J2
7 gn̄'k Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 W gn̄'k T55b gn̄'k J2 K5 M1	10'ywk' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b 'ywk W Mf4 'ywk F2; J2 K5 M1	15W Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 F2
8 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 F2 'st'wmnd'n' Mf4 'st'wmnd'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1	10YHBWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 YHBWN-t' J2	15 LZN̄H Pt4 (writes /m/ above <H>) Mf4 F2 T55b (writes /m/ above <H>); J2 K5 ZN̄H G14 T6
'st'wmnd'n T55b 8 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b gyh'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭣 F2	11 9βām Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b 9βām J2 K5 M1	𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭣 M1 15MND'M Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
9 mlgyh Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 mlgyh G14 F2 T6; J2	11mazdām Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b mazdām J2 K5 M1	QDM F2 15ZY-š It is not clear whether Indian manuscripts write ZY-š or ZK-š.
9 ZK Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 ZK Y Mf4; J2	12'n' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b HN' F2; J2 K5 M1	15twb'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1 twb'n' G14 T6
9 'hl'dyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 'hl'dyh Y J2	13zyd'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 zyd'n' G14 T6	tb'n' J2 15YHWWN-t Pt4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
9 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b gyh'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭣 𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭣 F2	13d'm'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 d'm'n' G14 T6	YHWWN-t' Mf4 T6 15deest Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b
10'YK̄-š Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'YK̄ G14 T6	13Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 T6	krtn' J2 K5 M1 krt F2
10dlwc' Pt4 G14 Mf4; T55b (It was written as <i>dlw̄wc'</i> , but the second /w/ is crossed out)	13twb'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1 twb'n' G14 T6	16L' krt' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; K5 L' krt G14
dlwc F2 (it was written as <i>dlwb</i> , but /b/ is crossed out)	[...]b'n' J2	𐭠𐭣𐭣𐭣 F2 L' krtn' J2 M1
T6; K5 M1 dlwc 1 J2	12YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 YHWWN-t' G14	16G14 writes ZN̄H YHWWN-t ZY-š twb'n' YHWWN-t 'P-š L' krt in marg.
	14'-š Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'P-š G14	16Pt4 writes 'p'dt '-š krt (superscr.) at the end of the Pahlavi section.
	14krt' Pt4 Mf4 T6 krt G14 F2 T55b; K5 M1	

## 5.9 Y 9.9

- 1 (a) MNW LK  
 2 stykl hwm MN 'NŠWT'-'n'  
 3 BYN '+'st'wmnd'n gyh'n' hwn'yt HWH-yȳ  
 4 '+MNW ZK 'tłsk'syh krt'  
 5 W MH 'w' 'LH mt' 'p̄'tyh

2 'NŠWT'-'n' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b	hwnyt F2	krt G14 F2 T6; K5 M1
'NŠWT'-'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1	3 HWH-yȳ Pt4 T55b	5 W MH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
3 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 T55b	HWH-yȳ Mf4 G14 T6; J2 K5 M1	MH F2
'st'wmnd'n' G14 F2; J2	4 W MNW Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 M1	5 'w' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1
'st'wmnd'n Mf4	MNW Mf4 F2	ZK G14 T6
'st'wmnd'n' T6	K5 illegible	5 mt Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b
'st'wmnd'n Y K5 M1	4 tłsk'syh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b	mt' Mf4; J2 K5 M1
3 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2	4 krt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2	
gyh'n' G14 F2 T6; K5 M1		
3 hwn'yt Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1		

## 5.10 Y 9.10

- 1 (a) 'DYN'-š 'w' L 'LH pshw' gwpt  
 2 hwm Y 'hlwb' Y dwl'wš  
 3 (b) slyt' Y 's'm'n Y swthw'st'l  
 4 [HWH-t 'slytyh HN' YHWWN-t  
 5 'YK BRH Y stykl YHWWN-t  
 6 'P-š swthw'st'lyh HN' YHWWN-t  
 7 'YK-š swt Y d'm'n' nywk YD'YTWN-st' B'YHWN-st]  
 8 L stygl MN 'NŠWT'-n  
 9 BYN 'st'wmnd'n gyh'n' hwn'yt'-m  
 10 'LH ZK 'tlsk'syh krt'  
 11 'w' 'LH ZK mt' 'p'tyh  
 12 (c) 'MT MN 'LH 2 BRH L'L' YLYDWN-t HWH-d  
 13 'wlwhš W kls'sp'  
 14 (d) d'twbl ZK-ȳ [YHWWN-t 'wlwhš 'YK wcył W<sup>1</sup> d'twblyh krt'] W<sup>2</sup> d't'l'st'l  
 15 ['YK-š d't Y pl'lw n BR' YD'YTWN-st']  
 16 (e) W ZK Y ZK-ȳ 'p'lk'l  
 17 W ywb'n' gyswl W gtwl  
 18 [kls'sp' 'YK-š k'l PWN gt' wyš krt'  
 19 m'hwnd't gwpt  
 20 HWH-t d't Y t'cyk YHWWN-t 'P-š MN gyswl BR' gwpt  
 21 m'hgwšnsp' YMLLWN-t  
 22 HWH-t HN'-š L' škwptyh MH gys twlk'-c YHSNN-d]

T6 wites 'ytwn and K5, M1 attest 'DYN'-š at the beginning of the Pahlavi version.

1 L Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

deest F2

1 pshw' Pt4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

pshw Mf4 G14 F2

1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b

gwpt G14 F2; K5 M1

YMLLW[...] G14

2 hwm Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; K5

hwm G14; M1

hwm [...] J2

2 'hlwb' Y Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1

'hlwb' Pt4 G14 F2 T6

3 slyt' Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1

سليت Y G14 T6

slyt Y J2

3 s'm'n Y Pt4 T55b; J2

s'm'n' G14 T6

s'm'n Y Mf4

s'm'n' Y F2; K5 M1

3 swthw'st'l Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1

swt Y hw'st'l J2

4 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

HWH-d F2

4 slytyh] سلیتی Pt4

slytyhyh Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

slytykh F2

4 HN' Pt4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1

'n' Mf4 T6

4 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

YHWWN-t' G14

5 BRH Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

BRH F2

stykl Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1

sdkl F2

5 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1

YHWWN-t' G14; J2

6 swtyhyh Pt4 (*swth'st'lyh* is written above the line with pale letters) G14 T6

swthw'st'l Mf4

swthw'st'lyh F2; K5 M1

swt g'h (/g/ is shown by two diacritic dots above ڄ) T55b.

swthw'st'lyh Y J2 (It seems that it was written *swthw'st'l* Y at the beginning and then, it was emended and *yh* was added to *swthw'st'l*).

6 HN' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1

'n' T6

6 YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1

deest J2  
 7 'YK Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b  
 'YK-š F2; J2 K5 M1  
 7 swt Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b  
 swt Y J2 K5 M1  
 d'm'n' G14 (writes d'm'n'  
 above ther line)  
 s'm'n' T6  
 7 nywk' Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 nywk G14 F2 T6; K5 M1  
 nywk Y J2  
 7 YD'YTWN-st' Pt4 F2  
 T55b; J2 K5  
 YD'YTWN-st Mf4 G14 T6;  
 M1  
 7 B'YHWN-st Pt4 Mf4 T55b;  
 K5 M1  
 B'YHWN-st' G14 T6  
 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀 F2  
 B'YHWWN-st' J2  
 8 'NŠWT'-n Pt4 Mf4 F2  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 'NŠWT'-n' G14 T6; J2  
 9 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 Mf4 (*d'n*  
 is written above the line)  
 T55b  
 'st'wmnd'n' G14 T6; J2  
 'st'wmnd'n F2  
 'st'wmnd'n Y K5 M1  
 9 gyh'n' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 𐬒𐬀𐬵 F2  
 gyh'n J2  
 9 hwn'yt'-m Pt4 Mf4 (/w/  
 after /t/ is crossed out by  
 two diagonal lines) T55b;  
 J2 K5  
 hwnyt'-m F2  
 𐬒𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀 G14 T6  
 K5 illegible  
 10ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; J2  
 ZK Y K5 M1  
 10 𐬒𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀 Pt4 T55b  
 𐬒𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀 Mf4  
 tlsk'syh G14  
 𐬒𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀 F2; J2 K5 M1  
 10krt' Pt4 Mf4; J2 K5 M1  
 krt G14 F2 T6 T55b  
 11'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 MH 'w' J2  
 11mt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2  
 mt F2 T6  
 ZK mt' K5 M1  
 12'MT Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;  
 J2 ('MT is re-written on an  
 illegible Avestan erased  
 word)

MNW F2  
 'MT MN K5 M1  
 12'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 'w' J2 ('MT is re-written on an  
 illegible Avestan erased  
 word)  
 12HWH-nd Pt4 T55b  
 HWH-d Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2  
 K5 M1  
 13'wlwhš Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 'lwh'š F2 (F2 condisers the  
 first 𐬀 after /l/ as /h/ by  
 writing a diacritic mark  
 above it).  
 13kls'sp' Pt4 Mf4 T55b(due to  
 the vulgate, T55b writes  
 three dots as the diacritic  
 mark for /š/ above /' / and  
 reads it *klyšsp'*); J2 K5 M1  
 𐬒𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀 G14 T6  
 𐬒𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀 F2  
 14ZK HN' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2  
 T6 T55b  
 ZK-ŷ J2 K5 M1  
 14YHWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14  
 F2 T55b; K5 M1  
 YHWWN-t' T6; J2  
 14'wlwhš Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 'lwh'š F2 (F2 condisers the  
 first 𐬀 after *w* as *h* by  
 writing a diacritic mark  
 above it).  
 14'YK Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b  
 'YK-š F2; J2 K5 M1  
 14-1 W Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5  
 M1  
 deest G14 T6  
 J2 illegible  
 14krt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b  
 (According to the New  
 Persian translation, T6  
 reads *krt'n*); K5 M1  
 krt F2  
 W krt' J2  
 14-2 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;  
 K5 M1  
 deest F2; J2  
 14d'tāl'st'l Pt4 T55b  
 d't'l'st'l Mf4 G14 T6; K5 M1  
 d't'l'sp'l F2 (writes /t/ with the  
 pale letter above /p/).  
 d't' Y 'l'st'l J2  
 15'YK-š Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; J2  
 'YK K5 M1  
 15 d't Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b  
 d't Y F2; J2 K5 M1

15pl'lwn Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 pl'lwn' J2  
 15 HNHTWN-? (the ending is  
 crossed out) Pt4; J2  
 HNHTWN-t' Mf4 G14 T6  
 HNHTWN-d F2  
 HNHTWN T55b  
 HNHTWN-t J2  
 YD'YTWN-st' K5 M1  
 16ZK Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b  
 ZK Y Mf4  
 ZK W J2  
 W ZK Y K5 M1  
 16 ZK'y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 ZK'y W J2  
 17W Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5  
 M1  
 deest G14 T6; J2  
 17ywb'n' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2  
 K5 M1  
 deest G14 T6  
 ywb'n F2  
 17gyswl Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 gswl F2  
 𐬒𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀 J2  
 17W gtwl Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1  
 gtwl G14 T6  
 18kls'sp' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b  
 (T55b  
 reads *klyšsp'* shown by three  
 dots as the); J2 K5 M1  
 klš'sp' G14 T6  
 18gt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1  
 gt F2  
 18krt' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5  
 M1  
 kr[...] Mf4  
 krt F2  
 19m'hwnd't Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 m'hwnd't' G14  
 19gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b  
 gwpt J2 K5 M1  
 19'YK Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 'YK-š G14 F2 (writes /š/ with  
 a small letter above the line)  
 T6  
 𐬒𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀 J2  
 HWH-t K5 M1  
 20 𐬒𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀 Pt4 (according to the  
 New Persian translation,  
 Pt4 reads it *g'tyh*. Pt4 also  
 renders two diacritic dots  
 above 𐬀 to show /g/) F2

(writes *gtyh* below the line with small letters) T6 (according to the new Persian translation, T6 reads it *g'tyh*. T6 also renders two diacritic dots above ۛ to show /g/) T55b

gt'yh G14

d't' Y J2

d't' Y K5 M1

20t'cyk'n' Pt4 G14 T6

t'cyk Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1

20YḤWWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14

F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1

YḤWWN-t' J2

20 'P-š Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b;

J2 K5 M1

'YK 'P[...] Mf4

20MN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b;  
J2 K5 M1

deest T6

20gswlyh Pt4

gyswlyh Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b

gys[...] J2

gyswl K5 M1

20gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b

gwpt F2; K5 M1

deest J2

21m'hgwšnp' Pt4 Mf4 T55b;

K5 M1

m'hgwšsp G14

m'hgwšnp F2

m'hgwšsp' T6

deest J2

21gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b

gwpt F2

YMLLWN-t J2 K5 M1

22škpptyh Pt4 G14

škwptyh Mf4 F2 T6 T55b

šykwptyh J2

škwptyh K5 M1

22gs Pt4 Mf4

gs gys F2

gys G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5

deest M1

22twlk'n'-c Pt4 (writes 'n above the line with small

letters) G14 T6

twlk'-c Mf4 T55b

twlk'n'-c F2 (writes 'n above the line with small letters)

twlk'-c J2

twlk'-c Y K5 M1

22YḤSNN-d Pt4 Mf4 F2

T55b; J2 K5 M1

YḤSNN-'nd G14 T6

## 5.11 Y 9.11

- 1 (a) MNW- š zt' 'c' Y slwbl  
 2 Y 'sp'wp'l Y GBR'-'wp'l  
 3 Y wš'wmnd Y zlt'  
 4 (b) MNW-š QDM wš l' nyny YK 'YMWN-'t  
 5 'sp b'l' ZK Y zlt'  
 6 [HWH-t' ZNH ZK ZY- š PWN km'l L'L' 'ZLWN-t  
 7 xšuaēpaiia vaēnaiia +barəšna  
 8 ZK ZY-ȳ ZY-š PWN zpl BR' NPLWN-st  
 9 'YT' MNW 'ytwn' YMLLN-yt  
 10 HWH-t KR' 2 'ywk  
 11 W ZK-ȳ 'nd b'l'd L'L' 'ZLWN-t'  
 12 W ZK-ȳ 'nd dlhn'd BR' NPLWN-st  
 13 'YT' MNW 'ytwn' YMLLWN'-yt  
 14 HWH-t kp'lyh QDM +pwšt hwšk YK 'YMWN-'t]  
 15 (c) MNW PWN 'LH QDM kls'sp'  
 16 '-š PWN ZK 'synyn' dyk' pyt' pwht  
 17 (d) ) ZK 'D 'w' lpyspyn' zm'n  
 18 tpt mr ['YK-š glm YHWWN-t] hwdst  
 19 ['YK 2 LGLH' YHWWN-t]  
 20 (e) 'P-š pr'c ZK Y 'synyn' [+dyk] pr'c +spwlt'  
 21 ZK 'y'ltynytk MY' BRH SGYTWN-t  
 22 (f) plwn' PWN tls BRH +tcyt'  
 23 mltmynšn' kls'sp'  
 24 [HWH-t +mltmynšnyh HN' YHWWN-t 'YK-š  
 25 LBBMH PWN g'h d'st]

1 MHYTWN-t Pt4 (writes  
 'YK klt W L'WHL d'st W  
 L(H)YK klt after  
 MHYTWN-t) Mf4 T55b;  
 J2

MHYTWN-t' G14 T6

MHYTWN-yt F2

zt' K5 M1

1 'c' Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1

deest J2

2 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5  
 M1

deest G14 T6

2 'sp'wp'l Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b

'sp'wp'l' F2

'sp'wp'l Y J2 K5 M1

2 mlt'wp'l Pt4 Mf4 T55b

mlt'wp'l G14 F2 T6

GBR'-'wp'l J2 K5 M1

3 Y Pt4 T55b; J2 K5 M1

deest Mf4 G14 F2 T6

3 wš'wmnd G14 T6

wš'wmnd Pt4 T55b

wš'wmnd Y Mf4

wš'wmnd Y F2; J2 K5 M1

3 zlt' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5  
 M1

zlt G14 F2 T6

4 MNW-š Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1

MNW wš G14 T6

4 tn' 'w' Pt4 (tn' 'w'' is written  
 above the line)

deest G14 F2 T6

tn' (writes in marg.) Mf4

'w' T55b

wš J2 K5 M1

4 l' nyny YK 'YMWN-'t

l' nyny Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1

4 YK 'YMWN-'t' J2

YK 'YMWN-'t Pt4 Mf4 T55b;  
 K5 M1

YK 'YMWN-yt' G14 T6

YK 'YMW-'t' F2

5 SWSY' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2

دودادود F2

'sp K5 M1

5 L'L' Pt4 T55b

b'l' Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1

5 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2  
 K5 M1

deest T55b

5 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14; J2 K5 M1

سر F2

deest T6; T55b

5 zlt' Pt4; J2 K5 M1

zlt Mf4 G14 T6

zylt F2

deest T55b

6 HWH-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 HWH-d F2 deest T55b 6 ZNH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 ZNH L'L' F2 deest T55b 6 ZY- y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 deest T55b (T55b omits ZK ZY-š PWN km'l) 6 L'L' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 deest F2 T55b 6 'ZLWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1 'ZLWN-t' G14 T6; J2 7 xšuaaēpaiia Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 yim xšuaaēpaiia G14 T6 7 vanaiia Pt4 T55b vanaiia Mf4 vainiti G14 T6 vainaiti F2 vaina[...] J2 vaēnaiia K5 M1 7 barəšna Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b barəšnu F2 barənuš J2 barəšna K5 M1 8 ZK ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b ZK J2 ZK ZK Y K5 M1 8 NPLWN-st Pt4 G14 F2 T55b; K5 M1 NPLWN-st' Mf4 T6; J2 9 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'YT G14 T6 'st F2 9 'ytwn' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'ytw[...] Mf4 'ytwn F2 9 YMRRN-yt' G14 Mf4 (yt is written above the line) YMRRN-yt Pt4 T6 T55b YMRR-yt F2 YMLLWN-yt' J2 YMLLWN-yt K5 M1 10 HWH-t Pt4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 HWH-d F2 10 'ywk' G14 T6 'ywk Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 11 W Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1	deest G14 F2 T6; J2 11 ZK Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b ZK Y J2 K5 M1 11b'l'd Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 b'l' G14 F2 T6 11 'ZLWN-t' G14 T6; J2 'ZLWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1 12 W Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 F2 T6 12 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 T6 (deest. ZK Y in marg.) ZK Y K5 T6; M1 12 dlhn'd Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 dlhn' F2; M1 dlhn' [...] J2 12 NPLWN-st' Pt4 G14 T55b; J2 NPLWN-st Mf4 F2 T6; K5 M1 13 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b deest G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 13 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'YT F2 T6 13 'ytwn' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'ytwn F2 13 YMRRN-yt Pt4 F2 T6 T55b YMRRWN-yt Mf4 YMRRN-yt' G14 YMLLWN-yt J2 YMLLWN-yt K5 M1 14 HWH-t Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 (written with pale script above the line) M1 HWH-d F2 14 kp'lyh Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 وړسېد T55b 14 pwšt' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b pwšt F2 pwš J2 K5 M1 14 hwšk' Pt4 T55b; J2 hwšk G14 Mf4 F2 T6; K5 M1 14 YK'YMWN-'t' G14 T6; J2 YK'YMWN-'t Pt4 T55b YK'YMWN-'t Mf4 F2; K5 M1 15 kls'sp' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 klyš'sp' G14 T6 klyšsp' F2	16 ZK Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b ZK F2; J2 K5 M1 16 'synyn' G14 T6; J2 K5 M1 سین-ین Pt4 Mf4 T55b سین-ین F2 16 dyk' Pt4 Mf4; K5 dyk W G14 F2 T55b dyk T6; J2 M1 16 pyt Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b pyt' J2 K5 deest M1 16 pwht' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T55b; J2 pwht F2 T6; K5 M1 17 ZK 'D 'w' Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 ZK Y 'LH J2 17 zm'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 zm'n' G14 T6; J2 zm'n' F2 18 tpt' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 tpt G14 T6; K5 M1 18 hwäst' Pt4 Mf4 T55b hw'st' G14 T6 hwdst F2 (in marg.); J2 K5 M1 19 'YK 2 Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 (in marg.) T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 19 LGLH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b LGLH' J2 K5 M1 19 YHWWN-t MN ZK gyw'k BR' gwlyht Pt4 T55b (Pt4 and T55b write MN ZK gyw'k BR' gwlyht in marg.) YHWWN-t Mf4 F2 (in marg.) T6; K5 M1 YHWWN-t' G14; J2 20 ZK Y Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; K5 ZK F2; J2 M1 20 'syn'yn' Pt4 T6 T55b 'sn'yn' Mf4 'syn'yn G14 'snyn F2 'synyn' J2 K5 M1 20 dyk' Pt4 G14 T6; J2 dyk W Mf4 dyk F2 dyk Y T55b; K5 M1 20 spwlt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 spwlt F2 سپولت K5 M1 21 ZK Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 ZK F2 T6; K5 M1
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21 'y'lytynytk' Pt4 G14 T6 T55b 'y'lytynytk Mf4 سودوعندم F2 (writes 'y'lytynytk below the line) 'y'ltynytk' J2 'y'ltynytk K5 M1 21SGYTWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 SGYTWN-t' J2 22plwn' Pt4 G14 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 Pt4 and T55B write 'c' Y slwbl in marg. plwn F2 22 tcyt' MN Pt4 T55b tcyt' Mf4 G14; J2	tcyny F2 تحنم T6 deest K5 M1 23mltmynšn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 mltmynšyh F2 GBR'-mynšn J2 23kls'sp' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 klš'sp' G14 klys'sp T6 kls'sp F2 24HWH-t Pt4 G14 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 HWH-d F2	24mltmynšnyh Pt4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 mltmynšn'yh Mf4 mltmynšn' G14; M1 mltmynšyh K5 24'YK-š F2; J2 K5 M1 'YK Pt4 G14 Mf4 T55b 25LBBMH Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 مهم G14 LBMH F2 مهم T6 25d'st' YHWWN-t Pt4 T55b d'st' G14 Mf4 T6; J2 d'st F2; K5 M1
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## 5.12 Y 9.12

- 1 (a) MNW LK  
 2 tswm hwm MN 'NŠWT'-'n'  
 3 BYN <sup>+</sup>'st'wmnd'n gyh'n' hwn'-yt' HWH-yȳ  
 4 MNW ZK <sup>+</sup>tlsk'syh krt  
 5 W MH 'w' 'LH mt' 'p̄'tyh

2 HWH-t Pt4 T55b  
 hwm Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2 K5  
 M1  
 2 'NŠWT'-'n' Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 'NŠWT'-'n' G14 T6; J2 K5  
 M1  
 'NŠWT'-'n' Y F2  
 3 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 T55b  
 'st'wmnd'n Mf4 F2  
 'st'wmnd'n G14 T6; J2  
 'st'wmnd'n Y K5 M1  
 3 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2  
 gyh'n G14 T6; K5 M1  
 gyyh'n F2  
 3 hwn'yt Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b;  
 J2

𐤁𐤍𐤍 F2  
 hwn'-yt' T6; J2 K5 M1  
 3 HWH-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2  
 T6 T55b  
 HWH-yȳ J2 K5 M1  
 4 W MNW Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b  
 MNW F2; J2 K5 M1  
 4 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 ZK Y J2  
 4 tlsk'syh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b  
 𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤍𐤏 F2  
 tlsk'yh J2 K5 M1

4 krt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;  
 J2  
 krt F2; K5 M1  
 5 W MH Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4  
 T6 T55b; K5 M1  
 MH F2; J2  
 5 'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 Mf4 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 ZK F2  
 5 mt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2  
 K5 M1  
 mt F2 T6 (written with small  
 script below the line)  
 5 'p̄'tyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤍𐤏 F2

## 5.13 Y 9.13

- 1 (a) 'P-š 'w' L 'LH pshw' gwpt  
 2 hwm Y 'hlwb' dwl'wš  
 3 (b) pwlšsp' Y L tswm MN 'NŠWT'-'n  
 4 BYN '+'st'wmnd'n' gyh'n hwn'-yt'-m  
 5 'LH ZK Y 'tłsk'syh krt'  
 6 W ZK 'w' 'LH mt 'p'tyh  
 7 (c) 'MT MN 'LH LK L'L' YLYDWN-t HWH-yȳ  
 8 LK 'pyck zltwšt'  
 9 BYN m'n' Y pwlwšsp'  
 10 Y<sup>1</sup> ywdt- ŠDY'' 'whrmzd-DYN'  
 11 ['YT' MNW ywdt- ŠDY'-yh L'WHL '-m'n' YMLLN-yt]

1 deest Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 'LH K5 M1	5 tłsk'syh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤕 F2	BYN Y J2
1 pshw' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 pshw F2	tłskāsȳ J2 tłsk'sȳ K5 M1	9 m'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b m'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1
1 gwpt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b YMLLWN-t' J2 gwpt F2; J2 K5	5 krt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 krt F2	9Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 deest T6
2 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 T6	6 W ZK Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 ZK G14 F2 T6	9 pwlwš'sp' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b pwlwš'sp F2 pwlwšsp' T6 pwlšsp' J2 K5 M1
2 'hlwb' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 'hlwb' Y G14 Mf4 deest J2	6 'w' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest F2	10-1 Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 deest G14 F2 T6; J2
2 dwl'wš Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤕 F2	6 mt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 mt F2 T6; K5 M1	10ywdt- ŠDY' Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b ywdt- ŠDY' G14 ywdt- ŠDY'' F2 T6; K5 M1 ywdt- ŠDY'' J2
3 pwlwš'sp' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b pwlwš'sp F2 T6 pwlšsp' Y J2 K5 M1	7 'MT Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 MNW G14 T6 MN MNW F2	10-2Y Pt4 Mf4 T55b deest G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1
3 'NŠWT'-'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5 M1 'NŠWT'-'n' G14 F2 T6; J2	7 MN Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest F2	10 'whrmzdd' tst'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b 'whrmzdd' tst'n' G14 F2 T6 'whrmzd-DYN' J2 K5 M1
4 'st'wmnd'n Pt4 T55b 'st'wmnd'n' Mf4 'st'wmnd'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 'st'wmnd'n' Y K5 M1	7 'LH Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 K5 M1 LH F2 'w' T6	11 'YT' Pt4 G14 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'st' Mf4 'YT F2 T6
4 gyh'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; M1 gyh'n' G14 T6; J2 K5 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤕 F2	7 YLYDWN-t Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 YLYDWN-t' J2	11ywdt- ŠDY' Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 ywdt- ŠDY' G14
4 hwn'yt-m Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 hwnyt-m F2 hwn'yt'-m K5 M1	7 HWH-yȳ Pt4 T6 T55b HWH-yȳ Mf4 G14 F2; J2 K5 M1	𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤕𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤕 F2 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤕𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤕 T6 ywdt- ŠDY'-yh K5 M1
5 ZK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; J2 ZK Y T6; K5 M1	8 'pyck' Pt4 F2 T55b; J2 'pyck Mf4; K5 M1 'pyck' Y G14 T6	11 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b deest T6; J2 K5 M1
	8 zltwšt' Pt4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 zltwhšt' Mf4 G14 T6 zltwhšt F2	11L'WHL Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤕 F2
	9 BYN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1	112 Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b F2 writes 2 below the line.

<p> <math>\sim</math> J2 K5 M1  11m'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b  m'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1 </p>	<p> 11YMRRN-yt' Pt4 T6  YMRRWN-yt Mf4  YMRRN-yt G14 F2 T55b </p>	<p>YMLLWN-yt J2 K5 M1</p>
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## 5.14 Y 9.14

- 1 (a) B<sub>YN</sub> ZK +Y n'myk +yl'nwyc'  
 2 ['YK ŠPYL +d'ytyy]  
 3 W LK pltwm zltwšt'  
 4 'hnwl pr'c slwt  
 5 ['YK-t yšt Y +n'pl krt]  
 6 BR' YBLWN-šnyh [PWN BR' gwbšnyh] 4  
 7 [+D 'w' ZK Y 'HL]  
 8 (b) PWN +hlwsp' +w'c sl'dšnyh [twhš'kyh']

1 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 M1 deest F2 T6 Y W K5 1 'yl'nwyc' Pt4 Mf4 T55b 'yl'n'wyc' G14 'yl'n'wyc F2 'yl'nwyc T6 'yl'nyc' J2 K5 M1 2 wyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55 deest J2 ŠPYL Y K5 M1 3 d'ytik Pt4 G14 T55b d'ytyy Mf4 T6; J2 d'ytih F2 d'ytyy Y K5 d'yt M1 (there is a space after /t/ which shows the scribe intended to fill it later) 3 W Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6; J2 K5 F2 deest M1 (there is a space after /t/ in d'yt which shows the scribe intended to fill it later) 3 LK P4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; K5 M1 LK W J2 3 zltwšt' Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b; J2 (in marg.) zltwhšt' G14 F2	zltwšt K5 M1 4 'hnwl Pt4 Mf4 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'hwnwl G14 F2 T6 4 pr'c Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55; J2 K5 M1 pr'cyh F2 4 slwt' HWH-ȳ Pt4 G14 T55b slwt W Mf4 slwt F2; K5 M1 YBLWN-t' T6 slwt' J2 4 yšt' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b yšt F2; J2 K5 M1 4 Y Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 Y55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 4 n'pl Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b n'swl J2 K5 M1 5 krt' HWH-ȳ Pt4 G14 T6 T55b krt' Mf4 J2 (in marg.) krt F2; K5 M1 6 BR' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 PWN BR' F2 6 YBLWN-šnyh Pt4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; K5 M1 YBLW-šnyh Mf4 [...]BLWN-šnyh J2	gwbšnyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 gwbšn' F2 7 'D ZK Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b 'D G14 T6; J2 'D W K5 M1 7 'w' Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; J2 K5 M1 deest G14 T6 7 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1 deest F2; J2 8 PWN Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2 K5 M1 'HL PWN F2 (in marg.) T6 (above the line) 8 hlwšd Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b hlwsp' J2 hlwcp' K5 M1 8 pr'c Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b w'c J2 'c K5 M1 8 sl'dšnyh Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1 sl'dšn G14 T6 8 twhš'kyh' Pt4 T55b twhš'kyh' Mf4 G14 T6; K5 M1 twhš'yh' J2
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## 5.15 Y 9.15

- 1 (Y 9.15aP) LK BYN zmyk nk'n' krt HWH-d  
 2 hlwsp' ŠDY'' zltwšt'  
 3 MNW L'YN' MN ZK wyl-'lwdšn'  
 4 ptyt HWH-d QDM PWN ZNH zmyk  
 5 [PWN ŠDY'' klyh  
 6 HWH-t KR' ZK MNW tn' mynwd twb'n YHWWN-t krt'n'  
 7 '-š k'lp't BR' TBLWN-st  
 8 ZK MNW L' twb'n YHWWN-t krt'n'  
 9 hwt' BR' TBLWN-st'  
 10 k'lp't' BR' TBLWN-st HN' +YK  
 11 MN ZK pr'c PWN +ŠDY' klyh wn's L' twb'n YHWWN-t krt'n'  
 12 'D PWN stwl klyh W 'NŠWT' klyh K'N-c 'w' 'BDWN-tyl  
 13 (Y 9.15bP) MNW 'wc'wmnd HWH-yī<sup>1</sup> MNW tkyk HWH-yī<sup>2</sup>  
 14 MNW twhš'k HWH-yī<sup>1</sup> MNW tyc HWH-yī<sup>2</sup>  
 15 'YT' 'YK pylwckltl  
 16 d't' YK'YMWN- yī MN ZK Y mynwd'n' d'm  
 17 [MN +d'm Y mynwd'n NPŠH]

1 nk'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 nk'n' G14 F2 T6; J2 K5 M1  
 1 krt' 'BYDWN-d Pt4  
 ('BYDWN-d is written  
 above the line)  
 krt' Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1  
 krt' G14 T6  
 1 HWH-t Pt4 T55b  
 HWH-d Mf4  
 HWH-t G14 T6  
 HWH-d F2; J2 K5 M1  
 2 hlwsp' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 hlwsp F2  
 2 ŠDY' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2  
 T55b  
 -UUUU T6; J2 K5 M1  
 2 zltwšt' Pt4 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 zltwšt' Mf4  
 zltwhšt' G14 T6  
 zltwhšt' F2  
 3 pyš Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b  
 L'YN' J2 K5 M1  
 4 HWH-d Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b  
 HWH-d F2; J2 K5 M1  
 5 PWN Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1  
 deest F2  
 5 ŠDY' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b  
 -UUUU J2  
 -UUUU K5 M1

HWH-d F2  
 6 twb'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5  
 M1  
 twb'n' G14 F2 T6; J2  
 6 YHWWN-t' Pt4 T55b  
 YHWWN-t Mf4 G14 F2 T6;  
 J2 K5 M1  
 7 k'lp't' Pt4 Mf4 T55b  
 k'lpwt' G14 T6  
 k'lbwt' F2 (*bwt'* is written in  
 the next line above which  
 the deletion line appears.  
 The word is corrected by  
 the pale *wt'* after *k'lb*.  
 klp J2  
 k'lp't K5 M1  
 7 škst' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;  
 J2  
 škst F2  
 TBLWN-st K5 M1  
 8 twb'n Pt4 Mf4 T55b; K5  
 M1  
 twb'n' G14 F2 T6; J2  
 8 YHWWN-t' Pt4 F2 T55b  
 (in marg.)  
 YHWWN-t Mf4 G14 T6; J2  
 K5 M1  
 8 krt'n' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b;  
 J2 K5 M1  
 kltn' (*kl* is written with the pale  
 and second handwriting  
 above the line)  
 9 BNPŠH Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b

hwt J2  
 hwt' K5 M1  
 9 škst' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b  
 škst F2  
 TBLWN-st' J2 K5 M1  
 10k'lp't Pt4 Mf4 F2 (the  
 manuscript repeats *ZK*  
*MNW L' twb'n' YHWWN-t'*  
*tn'* before *k'lp't*]; J2 K5 M1  
 k'lpwt' G14 T6  
 k'lpwt T55b  
 10škstn' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b  
 BR' škstn' F2  
 škstn T6  
 BR' TBLWN-stn J2  
 BR' TBLWN-st K5 M1  
 10'YK Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6; J2  
 MH K5 M1  
 11 ŠDY' Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6  
 T55b  
 ŠDY'' J2  
 ŠDY''' K5 M1  
 11 twb'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5  
 M1  
 twb'n' G14 T6; J2  
 11 YHWWN-t' Pt4 T55b  
 YHWWN-t Mf4 G14 F2 T6;  
 J2 K5 M1  
 12 stwl klyh Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6  
 T55b; K5 M1  
 stwl kpyh F2  
 stl kpyh J2  
 12 'NŠWT' klyh Pt4 Mf4 F2  
 T55b; J2 K5 M1

'NŠWT' klyh G14 T6	13-2 ḤWH'-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 T6 T55b	16 YḤBWN-t Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b
12 ḲN Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b	ḤWH'-yh-yȳ G14	YḤBWN-t' G14 T6; J2
Y 'w' J2	ḤWH-yȳ F2; J2 K5 M1	d't K5 M1
'w' K5 M1	14 <b>twḥš'k'</b> twḥš'k Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b, J2 K5 M1	16 Y Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; K5 M1
12 'BDWN- <u>ty</u> Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b; K5 M1	14-1 ḤWH'-yȳ Pt4 G14 T6 T55b	deest T6; J2
'BDWN- <u>yt</u> -d F2	ḤWH-yȳ Mf4 F2; J2 K5 M1	16 mynwd'n Pt4 Mf4 G14 F2 T55b; K5 M1
kwnd J2	14 tyc' Pt4 G14 T55b	mynwd'n' T6; J2
13 MNW Pt4 Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1	tyc Mf4 F2 T6; K5 M1	17 d'm'n Pt4; K5 M1
MNW-c G14	J2 Illegible	d'm Mf4 G14 F2 T6 T55b; J2
13 'wc' wmnd Pt4 T55b	14-2 ḤWH'-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55b	17 deest Pt4 G14
'wc' wmnd Mf4 G14; K5	ḤWH-yȳ F2; J2 K5 M1	Y Mf4 F2 T6 T55b; J2 K5 M1
'wc' wmnd F2; J2 M1	15 MNW 'YT' Pt4 Mf4 G14 T55b; J2	17 mynwd'n Pt4 Mf4 F2 T55b; K5 M1
13-1 ḤWH'-yȳ Pt4 Mf4 G14 T6 T55	MNW 'YT F2 T6	mynwd'n' G14 T6; J2
ḤWH-yȳ F2 K5 M1	'YT' K5 M1	
ḤWH-yȳ W J2		

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